

TERTULLIANS
APOLOGY,
OR
DEFENCE
OF THE
CHRISTIANS,
AGAINST THE
ACCUSATIONS
OF THE
GENTILES.

Now made English by *H. B.*
Esq.



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To his honoured Father in Law,
ABRAHAM HAYNES, Esq.

SIR,



*His Excellent Peere of
Tentullian (who lived
about 1400. years since)
falling into my hands, and
perusing it, for an Essay,
translated into English part therof. Some
of my friends (who gave me a visit) read
this beginning, and liking it (although
they have the same in Latine) importu-
ned me to finish what begun. Esteeming,
it might bring some profit to the Christian
a 2 Religion ;*

Religion; because therein Tertullian hath made such a solid confutation of the errors of Paganisme, and so perfectly represented the innocence of Christians, against the false accusations of the Gentiles; that in truth Religion could not be better defended, nor better perswaded, then it is in this Divine Peece. That which makes mee appropriate it to you, for my particular, you are he, to whom I professe my selfe,

SIR, Your humble and affectionate

Son in Law,

HENRY BROVYN.



TO HIS HONOURED
Friend, *Henry Brown* Esquire,
Translator of the ensuing Discourse
into the English tongue.

SIR,



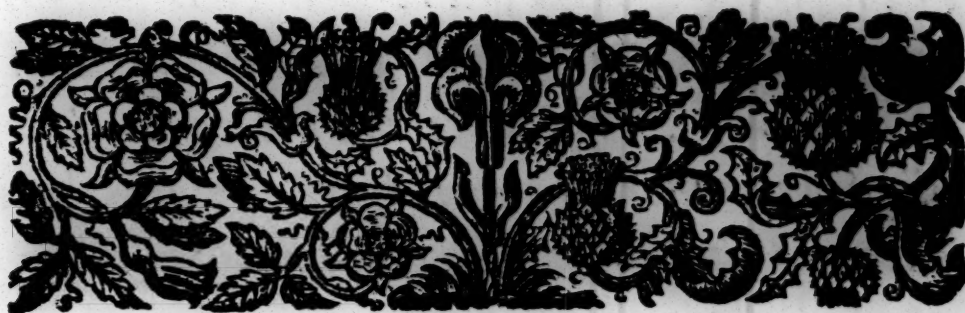
ITs very commendable, when
Gentlemen, to avoid the
irksome sin of Idleness, ap-
ply their minds unto stu-
dies beneficiall to them-
selves and others, in ma-
king Exotick tongues hold forth the truth of
things in our Native Language. This (it can-
not be gainsayd) in your late translation of
a 3 this

this rare Peece into English, you have done. It was written at first by *Tertulian*, the Author thereof, in Latine. Into how many severall tongues it hath been translated since, I cannot say; this I can, its worthy for the excellency thereof, to bee translated into all tongues, the Contents being convincing Arguments for the proof of One God, against the Heathen Romans, who were then Worshipers of Many. It were heartily to be wished, we of this Nation, could all of us bee as unanimous in the Profession of One true Religion, as the Author of this Treatise earnestly laboured to make those unto whom hee wrot, in the Confession of One true God. This, however, at present, wee may looner wish, then hope for, in these suffering and distracting times, you have seasonably done, Christ being the Center, from whence all lines of truth tend to the Univerſality of Religion, as to their Circumference, in laying to your helping hand for supporting the sinking pillars of Christianity, by translating, out of a forraign tongue,

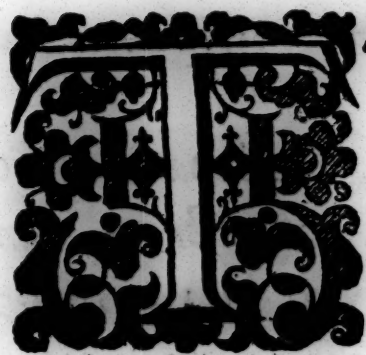
tongue, what the Primitive Christians did, and suffered for the Name of Christ. Its high time to put pen to paper, and publish in our Mother tongue, *An Apologie, or Defence for Christians*, when men and women, nowadays, who would bee thought true children of our Mother the Church, secretly blaspheme, and openly call in question the Godhead of Christ. But as *I and my Father am one* (saith our Saviour in the Gospel) and thereby declares himselfe consequently to be true God, so this *Apologie* sufficiently sets forth the truth of our Christian Faith. Which that it so doth in the English tongue, we are all beholding to you, for your pains alone, in this translation. The happy success wherof, together with a further blessing upon it, and your selfe from the Author of what ever blessings, God blessed for evermore, is heartily prayed for by him, who is,

Sir, Yours, much devoted to serve you,

THOMAS WESTLEY.



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*His Apologie or Defence is the
Work of an excellent Orator,
displaying all the forces of his
wit, to uphold a most deplored
cause in the opinion of the
Gentiles, and yet the justest
that ever was exposed to the judgement of men.
Its Reader will easily comprehend the merit of this
peece, so soon as know Tertullian the Author ther-
of, and its subject the defense of truth. 'Twas
created as criminall, with them who shut their eyes*

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to

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to the lights therein, and would not thereby be informed; Error seemed venerable to them for its antiquity: they preferred the darknesse which blinded them for so many Ages, before the most excellent Sun shine of divine light: although the accused made mention of in this Treatise were without spots, yet their accusers endeavoured to find some, and obscured their lustre, whom they falsely accused with such impurity, that it was necessary men illuminated with the beams of divine splendor, should employ the graces they received from heaven, to dissipate the darknesse of error, and discover to the world a truth which till then they were utterly ignorant of.

Tertullian was one of those, God made use of to lay open or unfold so glorious a ministry; and certainly it was a labour worthy of him; Hee had enriched his mind with all the choice ornaments of humane Learning; was ignorant of nothing that was taught by any kind of Philosophers, complac he was in the knowledge of the Civill Lawes, had read the histories of all Ages, made to himselfe a treasure of what every science had most precious
in

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in it, knew all the mysteries of idolatry, and was fully informed of the beginning and progresse of Superstition, having an understanding which made him capable of very great things: His Discourse was so powerfull, that one could not bear him without being perswaded by him; every of his Arguments rendring him victorious, at least over some of his Auditors. Hee was equally subtil and solid in his reasonings; he had united to those his sublime qualifications, a perfect understanding of the holy Scriptures: great piety and a marvellous zeale in the Religion of the true God. It appertained to a man, such as hee was, to defend the Christians against the calumnies of the Gentiles, to overthrow the Altars of the false Gods which Philosophy (as he saith himselfe) had set up to justify the worship given by us to the Creator of the Universe.

Hee was an Affrican, drawing his originall from a Noble Family of the City of Carthage: his Father was an Heathen, and commanded a Company of Souldiers, under the charge of the Governour of the Province. As himselfe took birth

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from an idolatrous house , so brought up hee was in Error ; but God giuing him an inquisitiue soule, he contented not himselfe with the knowledge of this world only, but also soared , and euen penetrated into heauen , to get knowledge of diuine truth. This saving well spring carefully laid up in the bosome of the Church, was the water of life hee chiefly thirsted after, which having once tasted of, he happily plunged himselfe therein, and took a full draught of the graces of God, swallowed up at the same time this precious liquor. Since when he euer after abhorred the fond blindnesse of foolish men, who attribute to miserable creatures the glory due to God.

Charity, the most excellent of Christian vertues, so lively inflamed his heart , that it made him undertake to instruct Infidels , to communicate his lights unto them, to confirme them therein by the Authority of holy Scriptures , and by the strength of reason to ranke themselves with him, in the faith of Iesus Christ.

Hee upon it was he so powerfully resisted the vanity of Philosophy, which he formerly so delighted in, and knew to be the principall ground of Superstition.

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stitution. So that the same things hee heerefore studied to adorn his mind withall, and bring it to the knowledge of false Gods, whilest hee lived under the servitude of Idolatry, by an admirable working of divine providence, served him since his conversion as strong instruments to destroy the worship of Idols.

Now it is very reasonable that hee, who so earnestly desired the salvation of his enemies, should have a particular care of his brethren, groaning under the weight of persecutions, which Pagans made them suffer: As therefore he piously laboured to open the eyes of the Gentiles, and make them worship his Master, so he happily employed himself likewise to represent to him the holinesse of those who most unjustly were charged with such strange crimes.

Two principall things hee equally endeavoured to set forth, namely the falsenesse of the Gods of the Gentiles, and the truth of one only God, and joyning together the defence of doctrine and manners, proved by one same work, the faith and innocence of Christians.

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Hee came into the Church neer the end of the second Age, about the time when Severus came to the Empire. The faithfull then enjoyed a profound peace after a furious war. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius, a wise Prince for the world, but too much addicted to the opinions of Philosophers, suffered the fourth Persecution to be kindled, which being stirred up in the year of our Lord 164. by the fury of the people, and injustice of the Magistrates, who governed the Provinces, swept away an infinite number of the servants of GOD: Nevertheless, although some rest they had, in the year of our salvation 176. by the authority of that Prince, his forbidding upon pain of death, to accuse the Christians, for their Religion, by a just acknowledgement of the service hee had of their affection, when by the prayers of Christian souldiers, which were in his troops, heaven poured down a favourable shower, that refresh'd in extreame necessity, the Army hee commanded in Germany. Yet this calm lasted not long, the quiet of this unconstant sea brought in with it an horrible tempest, especially on this side the Alps, where the City of Vienna

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Vienna and Lions saw the Rhosn dyed with the first blood the members of Iesus Christ spilt in Gaule.

The people that durst not directly resist the will of the Emperour, transported with extreame rage against so many good people, began againe to trouble their rest, in the year 179, on other pretences than that of Religion: They accused them of supposed crimes, the horror whereof, made their names odious, and by this detestable subtilty dragg them unjustly before the Courts of Iustice; whereby they eluded the punishment establish'd by the Emperour, against those who accused the Christians, and boldly glatted their cruelty on these innocents, whom they exposed to all kind of tortures, and in the end, inhumanely put them to death, for confessing the name of God only. This Persecution ended with the life of Marcus Aurelius.

The faithfull after so many sufferings, had rest under the Emperour Commodus, who transported with a bloudy outrage against all Orders of his State, by a secret judgement of God spared none but Christians.

And

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And certainly it was by a visible miracle that this Prince, an enemy of all honesty, was not also an enemy of those in like manner that made profession of godlinesse, that this Prince who shed with so much tyranny, the blood of his people, should close the wounds by which came out that of the Christians, and that these Idolaters who before had no spectacle so agreeable to their madnesse as the punishments of the Faithfull, should cease to afflict them, in a time when their hands were so accustomed to slaughter.

Wee must acknowledge God, who inspires such motions as please him in the hearts of men, the author of this so strange wonder. Hee procured this peace to the Church, to the end hee might fortifie it against the assaults it was to endure soon after. Its certaine, during this tranquility it was much increased: the Gentiles moved to see such excellency in the Christians, the innocent carriage of their lives, could not consider thereof without astonishment. They admired the purity they saw shine in their actions. From thence sprang desire in them of discovering the cause of such perfection, and employed

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ployed were they in the search of its originall, which is truth. And after they had broken downe the vail, which hindred them from knowing the same, they embraced it with as much affection, as ever they strove against it.

So not only the people, but those also, whose birth and merit rayssed them to great dignities, followed the Crosse of Jesus Christ. They renounced their Idols, to consecrate themselves to the service of the true God, and abandoned the Temples of the false Gods, that they might serve no other but that one God that created them. By this means Towns were peopled with Christians, Armies made up of them, and the Senat of Rome, from whence flowed the Governours of all the World, filled with them every day. These are the fruits which peace had produced, which the Church enjoied since the Empire of Commodus.

Severus having found the Empire in this happy condition, left it not so. The Sovereigne power fell in his hands in the yeare of our Lord 195. At the beginning he shewed no sign of any aversion against the Christians, but contrarily made

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great esteem of them; witnessed their probity, and openly opposed the violence of the people when hee saw them most incensed to the Christians destruction. He had still before his eyes the benefit wherewith he was obliged to a Christian named Proculus Torpacion, who heertofore restored him to his health, and by the remembrance of such a recovery, was so dear to him, that he alwayes kept this man neer him, so long as he lived; he durst not use violence to the Religion of him to whom he owed his life, so long as he was in the world, and his presence ready to reprove him of such ingratitude. The death of this Christian, time, and the revolution of affairs changed his mind unhappily to indignation.

Hee had two Competitors in the Empire, Pescennius Niger (who held Syria, and declared himselfe Emperour in the City of Antioch) and Claudius Albinus (who was Master of Gaule and Britain,) Severus accommodated himselfe to this man, and associated him with himselfe in the Empire, to defeat the other, and after overcoming Niger (who died of a hurt hee received in fighting) turned his thoughts unto procuring the ruin of Albinus,

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nius, whom he had honored for no other purpose then to destroy him. Albinus being dead, he came back from Gaule victorious, and entring Rome, he was there received with publick acclamations, rejoycings, and such solemnities as Superstition had brought in, and which thwarted the holinesse of the Christians, thought they should offend God, if in shewing their affection to the Emperour, they mingled themselves in these dissolutions; but their piety passing with the Insidels for a crime, their enemies tooke occasion thereby to exclaim against them, as against the enemies of the Emperour. Some think that Severus after hee had caused many Noble persons to be put to death, of Niger or Albinus party, went to make War against the Parthians, and leaving the Government of the City of Rome to Plautianus, this man naturally cruel, and continuing the search after all those who had favoured the one or the other of these two parties, filling Rome with Funeralls and mourning, began also the fifth Persecution against the Christians, not as complices of the factions which now began to be extinguished, but as guilty of high Treason, in neglecting to render to

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the Emperour at his return from Gaule, their duties in like maner as his other people did.

They that writ this fifth Persecution were stirred up at Rome on this subject, on the only authority of Plautianus, have also writ it was in this time that Tertullian made this Apologie or Defence, to make known to the Gentiles the injustice of the usage the Christians had; And upon their account this Peece was published the seventh yeare of the Empire of Severus, which fell in the year of our Lord 201. But others more probably say, it was in the year of our Salvation 204. the tenth year of the Empire of Severus, when this Prince after he had overcome the Parthians, and established peace in the Empire, willing to smother the seed of troubles, wherwith it had beene so violently agitated, forbad unlawfull assemblies, and factious meetings; upon this occasion, pretence is taken to persecute the Christians with authority, as if in meeting to prayse GOD, they had violated the prohibition of the Emperour.

Tertullian in his Apologie or Defence, affirms, this last opinion to be the truest, shewing Christian meetings

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meetings not to be factious meetings: Concluding it was not for this cause, that the before mentioned Inhibition was put forth. Neither is it unlikely, but this Apologie or Defence, that justifies Christian Religion from the guilt of faction, practise and conspiracie against the State, was after the Edict of Severus, who commanding the Judges to punish all seditious confederacies, had kindled againe the fire of Persecution against the guiltlesse.

Howsoever it was, certaine it is, Tertullian composed this Apologie or Defence in the reigne of Severus, during the greatest heat of punishing the Christians: he was then at Rome, and published this Book, without putting his name to it, that hee might not expose himselfe to inevitable danger.

Sparing the name of Severus for the respect born to his dignity, he addrest this Book to the Magistrates, who sate every day in judgement upon the faithfull, and condemned the true Religion without knowing it.

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Its impossible seriously to consider this Peece without being ravisht therewith. Riches it hath that puts it into the rank of great Workes, and of force to make us confesse, that if it be to bee esteemed for the reputation of its Author, it is also of more esteem for its own merit. We may see therein rare vivacity of wit, incredible store of high thoughts, and a mervailous power of perswading. Wee may receive there the light of an eminent Doctrine. We meet there with an infinite number of choice things. The conduct of it is admirable: Art hath nothing excellent, which is not judicially there observed. All the parts therof are agreeable with the whole. In fine, its a perfect body, to which the Learned have given this commendation, that of all the Works of Tertullian, there is none to bee compared to this. All the following Ages have acknowledged, that the Church hath nothing more accomplished; and that Religion could not bee better defended, nor better perswaded then it is in this Divine Peece.

The truth is, the stile is not so glorious, the pbrase rude and obscure, and it seems as if every
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one of its periods consayned a mystery, the sense therof is so hid. But we must pardon an Affrican, if it be not expressed with all the grace of the Latine Tongue : the fault is not so much in him, as in his Countrey. If his speech hath not much Eloquence, it hath much vigor ; His discourse flatters not the ears, but works with vehemence, and impresseth powerfully on the mind of the Readers that which will perswade him.

Now although Tertullian hath not loftinesse of speech, yet we may say, hee hath written purely and not used tearms, which were not fit to declare vigorously what he conceived, and which are not found in the Authors of Humane Learning, and of civill right ; all his words are Latin, but his phrase strange, and relisbeth of the stile of the Greeks, to which he was accustomed by his ordinary reading of their Books. Its this mixture that makes it obscure, that the most able men meet with difficulties in his Workes ; and the reason his Apologie or Defence shewes not its beauty, to all those that makes use of it.

There

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There have crept in some opinions not now received, and which in that time were not condemned. He writes, Devils were ingendred by the conjunction of revolted Angels, with the daughters of men: he speaks of the birth of the soule, as well as of that of the body, beleeving the child takes both his soul and his body from the substance of his father: he sayes the soul cannot suffer alone (but he is not constant in his opinion) and teaches, that the souls of the wicked suffer in hell, although separated from the matter, and their bodies rest in the grave, which is the doctrine of the Catholicke Church. Hee mentions Paradise, as a place of delights, different from that in heaven, and separated from the world, by the interposition of a Zone of fire, where he beleeves the just goe after death, to remain till the day of the Lord. And in conclusion, lets slip something from his pen of the age of a thousand years interposed between the end of this world, and eternity: He is of opinion also, that during the course of these thousand yeares, Iesus Christ shall raign on the earth with his elect, that in the mean time, the just being raysted out of their graves,

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graves, shall live with aundance of spirituall felicity, and that this age being come to its period, the Son of God shall then make his universall judgement. It is enough wee have taken notice of these opinions, which were not yet errors in the time of Tertullian; the Church then not having pronounced any thing to the contrary, they contented themselves then to preach the truth of one God in three Persons, the mystery of the Birth, Life, and Death of Iesus Christ, the institution of the Sacraments, the judgement of the Lord, the glory of the blessed in heaven, and eternall punishments prepared for the wicked in hell.

Our Tertullian hath so well established this doctrine, so perfectly represented the innocence of Christians, by this Apologic or Defence, that all the Church had this Book in singular reverence: they esteemed it as a pretious Cabinet, where the evidences of its faith are kept, the proofs of its ancient discipline, and marks of the holinesse of its first children.

It seemes to me that England deserves to have this Peece in its Language, that Learned men owe

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to this Nation so rich & Present ; for although Translations are not much esteemed in this Age, where every one adores his own inventions, yet this, (how meanly soever translated) may bee well received, because of the dignity of the matter. I have undertaken it for those, who not knowing the language of the Mistresse of the World, cannot know the perfection of so excellent a production of wit, if it appear not to their eyes with its graces in the Mother tongue of their native Country. This Work might have met with a better Pen then mine, but not a faithfuller ; I aspire not to the glory of writing well, but only, of being an Interpreter of an Author, who, in the judgement of the Learned, hath no fewer thorns, then flowers.

Tertullians

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to the Nation to rich a people: for although
translations are not much esteemed in this age,
where every one makes his own translation, yet
this (being nearly for ever translated) may be well
received, because of the dignity of the matter. I
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language of the Scripture of the World, cannot know
the perfection of so excellent a production of wit, if
it appear not to their eyes with its grace in the
Mother tongue of their native Country. This
Work might have been with a better face than mine,
but not a faithful one. I have not the glory of wit,
but well, but only of being an interpreter of an
Author, who, in the judgment of the Learned,
has no fewer than seven thousand

Testimonies



*Tertullians Apologie, or Defense of
the Christians, against the accusations
of the Gentiles.*

CHAPTER I.

SIRS:

IF the Authority of Justice bee subject to so intollerable a necessity, as you that hold the first places of the Roman Empire, (who in the dignity of your Magistracy, being exposed to the eyes of all the world, judge men in the most eminent place of this Capitoll City of the Universe) have not the liberty to examine publicly and in the view of the people under your conduct, wherein the things consist whereof the Christians are accused, and which they propose for the prooffe of their innocence: If upon this occasion only you feare, or are ashamed to labour openly to finde out the truth, and to instruct your selves by the

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the order the Lawes have established ; or if the severity you have exercised against the Christians subject to your domesticke power, incensing your mindes with too much fury against our Religion, makes you bring from your home a resolution to condemn us, and not so much as hear the reasons serving for our defence : Be pleased we present you this truth in secret, and permit us to discover the same to you in paper, seeing wee cannot make you understand it by word of mouth. She demands no favour of you ; because her condition permits her not to hope for a usage easier then that she hath formerly received ; she knowes her selfe a stranger on earth, and doubts not to meet with enemies in a Countrey thats not her owne ; as shee derives her originall from Heaven, so there makes she her principall residence, where shee hath most hope, where her best credit is, and where her dignity shines in its greatest lustre. That which shee desires of you whilest she remains heer below, is only you would not condemne her unknown. The Lawes of the State will lose nothing of their Authority, if you permit her but to defend her selfe ; their power on the contrary will be seen with more luster if you condemne her after you have heard her : but if you judge her without knowing her cause, you will not only stand charged with reproach of manifest injustice ; but be justly suspected your consciences check you with some secret motions, that make you refuse to heare the thing you could not condemne if you heard it. Wee say then, ignorance is the first cause that makes the hatred unjust

unjust you have conceived against the name of Christians ; indeed wee are unholy in your opinion, because you are not informed of the holines of our doctrine. But take heed what seems to serve you for an excuse, be not that which renders your judgement of us faulty. For is there any thing more unjust then to hate that you know not, although it were otherwise even a thing to bee hated ? As bad as any thing is it begins not to deserve hatred , till it be known to deserve it ; while you know not what it is,, how is it possible you should rightly hate it ? To make the hatred of any thing just , it sufficeth not the thing it selfe be evill, but that the party who hates the same knows it to be evill in like maner ; seeing therefore you hate us without knowing wherefore, how appears it you hate us not without a cause, and consequently most unjustly? in regard whereof wee have good reason to reprehend you, because you know us not (to wit) in our condition when you hate us, and therefore hate us most unjustly. Certainly you pursue us with so much animosity, that it well appears you know not in what manner wee live ; and affect an ignorance that condemnes rather then excuseth you of injustice. For we see a great many whose hatred is grounded on the want of knowl:dge onely, who so soone as they cease from being ignorant of our discipline, cease at the same time to bear hatred against us. It is of these sort of men that Christians are made ; they embrace our religion after informed in the Piety thereof, when hating what they sometimes were, they make publick profession of that

they hated before; the number of these men is so great, that it will astonish you when but hear them reckoned up. And from thence it comes the people complain highly that the City of Rome is invironed on all sides with the enemies of the worship of the Gods, that Christians are spread over all the Empire, that the provinces are full of them; they bewail it as a signall mischiete and as a considerable losse, because persons of all qualities and ages, men of all conditions, even those who have attained to great dignities, run promiscuously on this side. The progresse Christianity hath made cannot make them judge well of us, and the examples before their eyes puts not this thought in their mindes, that a religion that drawes all the world after it must have something excellent and divine that they know not of. The constancy wherewith wee suffer their persecutions is not able to move them, to better opinions of us then those they have formerly conceived: they will not particularly be informed of our Doctrine, wherin only they care not for being over curious, and take as much delight to bee ignorant of this, as others to know all things. O how would *Anacharsis* have judged these rather imprudent for giving their judgement upon men wiser then themselves, then formerly hee taxed those of folly, who themselves being altogether immusically, gave their judgement touching Musicke. Seemed not the policy of the Athenians ridiculous to him, when hee saw among them the learned exposed to the judgement of ignorant men? Truly the blindenesse of our enemies far surpasseth this,

this, in regard they are so hardned in the hatred they beare towards us, that because not being oblieged to relinquish it, they care not for being made acquainted with our condition: much doubting what they are ignorant of, is of such quality, that it will not be in their power to hate it, if once acquainted but with the merit therof. Now if hatred have not a lawfull cause, we cannot too soon extinguish it, and if justly kindled, it imports that the subject which hath given it a being bee examined; because if it be found it hath justice on its side, not onely this testimony takes nothing away from its force, but seemes to take new forces, authorising it the more. You say, to prove the holinesse of our doctrine, we should not boast in that which shee insinuateth into the mind, and that she gaineth so much people; for wee see very many change their good customes into bad, that it is not a new thing souldiers revolting from their owne party quit their Ensignes, to cast themselves into the troops of their enemies. Wee agree with you in this; but experience also teacheth us, that even they that suffer themselves to be surpris'd with unruly affections, are not assured of defending the disorders of their life, and dare not undertake to make them passe for good actions; Nature hath tied to evill, fear or shame, the wicked seeke for darkenesse, tremble when they are surpris'd, and deny all when accused: One can hardly draw the truth from their mouthes no not in the midst of tortures, and when their sentence is pronounced, they have recourse to teares and sighs.

They examine their consciences, and remembering the number of their crimes, they impute it to destiny & the stars, and wil not acknowledge they have been carried to it by their consent, because they know they are wicked and punishable things. Do the Christians any such thing? They are not ashamed when discovered what they are, they repent not, unlesse it bee that they had not sooner followed the Law of Jesus Christ, they esteeme it a glory to bee put into the hands of Justice, if accused they defend not themselves, when interrogated they confesse willingly, and when condemned they declare themselves thankful to their Judges. What is that evill that hath not the quality of evill? which is neither accompanied with feare nor shame? who know not the artifices the accused make use of to gaine time, and deferr judgement? Who are not affected with repentings, or complaints wherwith Criminalls use ordinarily to deplore the sadness of their conditiō? was there ever an evill of this nature? Did any ever see Criminalls rejoyce in the torments they endure? Who desire to bee accused? Who make much of punishment? and of their pain make their felicity? Doe not say the constancy wee shew is rather a mark of despair then of vertue, for you cannot judge safely of our actions, seeing you cannot know the motions they produce.

CHAP. II.

IF notwithstanding you cannot part with the opinion you have conceived, but beleeve us indeed guilty, why are wee handled otherwise then they who, being like us, are in like maner guilty? Seeing by the rules of justice the same fault ought to have the same maner of punishment. When men, not of our Religion are accused of the same crimes they impute to us, it is permitted them to have their innocency made knowne, to defend themselves by word of mouth, to take counsell of an Advocate; they are suffered to give an answer unto what objected against them, and to make good their justification: for the Laws do not allow those to bee condemned whose offences have not been heard. It is only from the Christians they take the liberty to speak in their justification, to uphold the truth, and to declare to the Judges the things they ought necessarily to know, that their judgements might not bee suspected of injustice. They require for the condemning of us, but only the confession of the name Christian, they stay not till the crimes wherewith they charge us be examined, and it is the confession only that exposeth us to publick hatred. When you put up a proceffe against a Criminall, you doe not pronounce his condemnation so soon as confest hee is a murderer, sacrilegious, incestuous, an enemy of the State, which are the titles they give us: But you examine
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the circumstances, you consider the qualities of the fact, in what place, in what maner, and at what time the crime was committed, then you informe your selves against the complices; you do not keep these forms when you proceed against us, and yet you will condemne us without shew of justice; you must make us appear guilty of the things which are falsly imputed to us; for example, how many children a Christian devoured after inhumanely cut their throats, how many times darkness gave him the assurance of satiating his incontinency with incestuous imbraces, who the Cooks dressed the flesh of these bodies so cruelly murthured, & of what sort the dogs (as you suppose) brought into our assemblies, to serve to put out the lights. Oh what great glory to a Judge to have convinced by due proof a Christian to have eaten the flesh of an hundred children? seeing we read it hath otherwise beene hecetofores forbid even so much as to make any maner of inquiry after us. *Pliny* the second, whilest Governor of *Asia*, after sentencing to death many Christians, & depriving others of their dignities, wondred his severity did not diminish their number, and consulted with the Emperour *Trajan* to know in what maner hee should governe for the time to come, in the behalf of Christians that should bee presented to him. Hee wrot to him that besides their firm resolution of not sacrificing to the Gods, he could learn no other thing touching their Religion, but of their assembling together before day to sing prayes to Jesus Christ, and to God, and to unite their wills to the conservation of the discipline established

blished amongst them : forbidding expressely murder, adultery, fraud, perfidiousnesse, and other crimes. *Trajan* by way of answer, returns him a command not to make inquiry after them, but being brought before him to punish them. O judgement wrapt up in a necessary and inexplicable ambiguity. ! How is it possible to accord things so opposite ? Hee forbids to seek after Christians, as being innocent, and commands to punish them as criminalls. He is mercifull and cruell, pardons, and punisheth at the same time. How comes it you are contrary to your selves, that your owne judgement beares witnesse of your own injustice ? If you think wee deserve punishment, why forbid to enquire after us ? If thought fitting not to enquire after us, why then not acquit us ? Provosts are established in all Provinces, to discover and take thieves. Arms are lawfull in the hands of all men to be employed against traytors, and against the enemies of the State. When once made acquainted with a villany committed, wee apprehend in the pursuit all wee suspect to bee pertakers with them that commit it. They are only Christians are forbid to be sought after, and yet permitted at the same time to bee dragd before the Tribunalls of Justice, as if the enquiry made to no other end then to present men before the Judges. So you condemn a Christian when once found out, although according to the design of your Lawes, hee should bee assured against all searches ; and when you condemn them, I doe not beleeve you judge them worthy of the punishment you ordain them, because guilty, but onely
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because discovered, and that there are people found bold enough to enquire of their life against the public ordinances. But when a Christian is in your hands, you doe not act against him as you are used to act when you would pursue the vengeance of a crime, for when the other accused boldly maintaine they are not guilty, you ordain they should be put to the rack, to the end that torture may force them to confesse, and contrarily you apply it to the Christians only to force them to deny. If our Religion were evill, without doubt wee should flie to denyings in the same maner as criminalls doe, and you would be forced to draw confessions from us by the force of torments; you say you doe not think your selves obliged to seek by tortures the prooffe of the evill we doe, because you certainly beleeve the confession of the name Christian carries enough with it of all crimes. But this pretence is not lawfull: for if a man be accused of murder, although you know well enough of what nature his crime is, yet you doe not content your selves with the confession, but you force him to declare the order hee took to commit it; you doe not deal so with us, and the strangeness of your proceeding discovers visibly your injustice. You hold that to confesse the name Christian makes us guilty, and you make use of violence to force us to retract it, in disavowing the name of Christian, we discharge our selves, at the same time of the crimes you impute to us because of this confession. But I think you do so, because you will not have us destroy our selves, wee whom you take for
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execrable persons : It may be you are wont to bid a murtherer deny the murther he is accused of, and injoyne a sacrilegious person to suffer more torments if he perseveres in confessing his impiety. Now seeing you proceede not against us as against Criminalls, its a signe you thinke us very innocent ; Then therefore it is without doubt you will not have us persist in this confession , whereas you know very well that condemnation is grounded on the necessity imposed on you to obey the lawes of the state , and not on the rules of justice. A man cryes out in the midst of his torments, and saith, I am a Christian , he declares openly what he is ; you would heare from his mouth what he is not. You are resolved, purposed, determined to draw the prooffe of the truth by the confession of the accused, and of all other men, but there are none but we of whom you strive to heare lies. You ask me (saith one of us) if I be a Christian , and I answer, I am. Why endeavour you to corrupt me by force of tortures ? I confesse and you torment mee. What would you doe if I should deny ? when those that are guilty protest they are innocent , you believe not the truth from their words ; and you believe us so soone as wee say wee are not Christians. Certainly this unjust affection which so unhappily troubles your reason, is to be suspected, and ought to make you thinke ther's some secret violence that workes in your minds, and makes you proceed in our cause against the order and nature of judgement, and also against the Laws. If I bee not deceived the laws command us to discover , and not conceale of-

offenders in withdrawing them from punishment, it ordaines that those who confesse themselves guilty should be condemned, and not absolved.

These are the rules established by the authority of your Senate, and custome of your Princes: these are the maximes which are in use in the exercise of the power whereof you are ministers; for the authority of your magistracy is lawfull, and not Tyranicall. Tyrants are accustomed to add tortures to ordinary punishments to render them more cruell: but as your pollicy is full of humanity, you make no use of it, but force the accused to confesse. Keepe this Law in its vigour, and stretch it not further then its bounds; its necessary to draw confession from the mouth of criminalls, but if they prevent its rigour men must not use it, there remains nothing in this case but to judge and punish it. Punishment established by the laws is a debt which they are bound to acquit, and whereof its unjust to discharge it after it is confest. Indeed wee see no judge that strives openly to save a wicked person. Neither is he permitted to have a will to it; and from thence it comes in order of judgement wee doe not force men to denie. You believe a man cannot make profession of Christianity without being tainted with all sorts of crimes; without being an enemy to the Gods, to Prince^s, to the lawes, to good manners, and to nature, and that a Christian cannot be acquitted unless he denyes himselfe to be a Christian; you force him to deny that you may acquit him, which is apparently to betraye the justice of the lawes. What would

would you have him deny he is guiltie that you may make him innocēt, even against his wil, & that a man cannot after impute to him what is past to render him criminall? tell us what motion inspires you with an affection so unreasonable? and from whence comes it you resolve not to believe him that voluntarily confesseth rather then the party that denyes what hee is accused of by constraint: This last being forced in his judgement may speake against his conscience, and keeping in his heart the Christian Religion, after hee is absolved, deride you at the same time you come to judge him, because of the partiality you shew in maintaining your opinions at the charge of justice. Now seeing you treat us in every thing otherwise then criminalls, and your onely end is to make us foregoe the name wee beare, (and wee undoubtedly relinquish the same if wee doe what they doe who are not Christians) you may easily apprehend we are not guiltie of any wickednesse: that our being named Christians is our onely crime, that his appellation is unjustly prosecuted by the motions of a rash and blinde hatred, whereof the first effect is to take from men the desire of knowing certainly the things which they know they have no assured knowledge of at all. So they believe all that is published against us, although they see no proofes, and they will not let our lives be enquired after, for feare a lawfull proceeding discover onely the things they will not have to bee believed to bee true, and they take occasion to condemne this name, which is the object of their hatred, on the onely confession wee

make as if the confession of the name were sufficient for the conviction of those crimes, they attribute to it without any other ground then their owne opinion. Then as our contention is but a contention about a name, they torment us when wee confesse it, they punish our constancy, and acquit us when wee denie it. But after all, when you pronounce sentence against a Christian, why doe you not declare another cause of his condemnation then that hee is a Christian? Why say you not hee is guilty of murder, and of incest? that he hath committed all other crimes imputed to us by your selves. It seemes there are none but wee against whom you are ashamed to pronounce judgement under the notion of these execrable actions. If the name of Christian bee not a name of naughtinesse, then what you attribute to it is nothing pertinent, it being the name onely, and not any wickedness that name importeth, which you finde fault with.

CHAP. III.

BUt is it not a strange thing, that the hatred, wherewith this name is pursued, in such manner blinds the minds of most men, that when witness the probity of a Christian, they mixe in their discourse as a reproach that he hath embraced this Religion? One saith, truly he of whom you speake is an honest man, if hee were not a Christian, and his life

life would bee free from blame. Another, doe you know such a one who had the reputation of a wise and discreet man, he is lately turned Christian? and there is no body reproves and shewes them it is more to the purpose to reason thus: Therefore such a one is an honest man, or this who is so wise and modest hath got these rare qualities since making profession of Christianity: or else, such like men make it appeare visibly they are Christians, because they are wise and vertuous, they prayse the thing they know, and blame what they know not, and corrupt the purity of handsome actions, whereof eye-witnesses, by the opposition of a quality whose merit is unknowne to them, although it is more just to judge of things that appeare not, by those that appeare; then to ground on hidden things the condemnation of those which are apparent. There are others found that keeping company with those they knew before they were Christians to bee vagabonds, infamous, and wicked, now prayse them, who observed the irregularity of their life past. These people by an extreame blindness of hatred, speak to the advantage of the name Christian when they strive to render it odious. For say they, how pleasant and of what a good humour was that woman? How sociable and joviall was that man? Its pity they should bee Christians. So they impute the amendment of their lives to the profession of Christianity. Some of them also purchase the aversion they carry against the name Christian which wee beare, with the

the price of what is most precious to them, rather desiring to lose the sweetness of life, tranquility of minde, and all sorts of Commodities, then to see in their houses that which they hate.

A man who heretofore had his minde full of jealousy, can no longer endure the company of his Wife, what assurance soever he hath of her Chastitie, after once he perceives her to bee turned Christian, and parts from her now when her actions (full of modesty) have extinguished all suspitions wherewith he was heretofore moved.

A Father, who of a long time endur'd the disobedience of his heathenish Son, resolves to take from him the hope of succeeding him in his inheritance, for turning Christian, when at the same time executing his commandements without murmuring.

A Master that us'd his Slave gently, when his carriage gave him some cause of distrust, now puts him farre from him, for that a Christian, when hee hath most assurance of his fidelity. It's committing of a crime to correct the disorders of a mans life, by the motions of a holy conversion to the Christian faith; and the good which is produced by so happy a change, workes not so powerfully on the mindes of men, as the hatred they have conceived against us. Indeed this hatred is strange; and when I consider that the name of Christian onely makes it to bee so, I would willingly know how a name can bee criminal, and how a simple word can bee accused? Me thinks a word cannot be condemned, unless it be barbarous, or expresseth some evill speaking, or repre-
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sents some unchast thing, and of ill report. The word Christian drawes its originall from that of Unction; it is the name that the son of God our master tooke, to shew he was the King of the faithfull, and the high Priest of the new law. And when by an ill pronuntiation you change the signification of this name, (for one need but heare you speake it, to discover you know it not) it is a name composed of sweetnesse and goodnesse; so you hate men whose actions are full of integrity, and a name that hath nothing of evill in it, did one ever see an opinion condemned because of the name of its author? What wonder were it if they that give themselves to a discipline take the name of him that taught it? Are not Philosophers by the reason of the name of their Sects called Platonicks, Epicurians, and Pithagorians? and in consideration of the places of their assemblies Stoicks and Academicks? and doe wee not see Physitians borrow that of *Erasistratus*? the Gramarians that of *Aristarchus*? and the Cookes also that of famous *Apicius*? Let none thinke it strange that both the one and the other beare the name of their Author, seeing they glory in following their Doctrine, and in embracing their discipline which was left them. Indeed the name of a Sect cannot bee condemned, if it be not vicious, and it must be made knowne that a Doctrine is evill, and also that the Author is wicked, to make the name of them odious which make profession of it: for it cannot bee, unlesse it bee because of the vices of the Sect, and of him that made it. Therefore before you hate our

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name, you must know the worthinesse of our Religion by the knowledge of our Author, which is Jesus Christ: or else inquire of the conditions of our master, by a holy search of the things hee taught us. But you will know neither the Religion which you persecute, nor the excellent quality of its Author: You are content to inveigh against the name, and to contend with it: a simple word is all the ground of the injustice you doe to a Religion, and the Author of a Doctrine you know not; and there is so much prejudice in your mindes, that you condemne this law and its Author, onely because of the name, without being convinc't by the force of a lawful conviction.

CHAP. IV.

I Have hitherto insisted in opposing the injustice of the publicke hatred wherewith wee are persecuted: I am now to treat of the point of our innocency; and therefore will not onely refute the things they object against us; but returne the same upon themselves who cast them upon us, that thereby they may know Christians defile not themselvs with crimes so impudently laid to their charge, by those who cannot bee ignorant that Christians are guiltless therof. In regard wherof, I wonder they blush not (wicked people as they are) at the rash accusations they charge us withall; I will not speak
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against good men, but only such as themselves, who asperse us for criminals.

I will touch in particular all they say wee doe in private, and from whence they take occasion to reproach us as wicked, superstitious persons, worthy the infamy of punishment, and in conclusion objects of laughter and contempt, and make it appeare our Enemies commit the same publickly every day. But because your last refuge, when you see truth on our side discovers all these impostures, is to make use of the authority of the Lawes against us; and have ordinarily in your mouths, either that it is not permitted you to examine anew what they have condemned, or your oath injoyne the necessity of obeying the same; that is, whether you will or no, and by constraint you preferre what they will have you, before the knowledge of the truth; I am first obliged seeing the Lawes are under your protection, to speake to you of the obedience due unto them. I say then, when you pronounce these words with too much rigour unto us, *your Religion is forbid by the Laws*, and by an inclination contrary to humanity condemn us with an unlimited power, without suffering us to justifie our selves: you act with violence, and exercise a power full of tyranny. Certainly you abuse your authority, when you determine the Christian Religion ought not to be suffered, not indeed because it ought not to be suffered, but because you will not suffer it.

If Justice bee the Rule of your Judgements, and if reason makes you condemne a thing which ought

not to bee condemned ; without doubt that onely should be forbid which is wicked , from whence it follows , what is good should bee left to the free liberty of all men. If I finde that to be just your Laws forbid, is it not true, this forbidding of yours obligeth me not at all, and contrarily, that I am bound to obey it, if condemning that which is evill ? And wonder not if I accuse your Lawes of error : it is man hath conceived them, they that made them failed not a little : your Laws have not been established by the infinite Wisedome of God.

It is no wonder to take notice that men may bee deceived in making a Law, and therefore upon better consideration with themselves, they have confessed their error, in condemning that they formerly approved ? Know wee not that the *Lacedemonians* sweetned the severity of *Lycurgus* Lawes , to accommodate them to civill society : at which the great Law-giver was so displeased , that hee voluntarily quitted his Countrey, condemned himselfe to dye, and to advance his death, deprived himselfe of nourishment for life ? and falls it not out every day, that the experience you have got in doing justice, serves you for a Candle, and glittering light to dissipate the darkness of antiquity, to beat downe before you this thorny Wood of the ancient Lawes ? I might say, you clear the confusion that would insue thereupon, by the authority of the new constitutions of the Emperours ?

A little while since have wee not seen *Severus*, a Prince indued with comely gravity and rare wisdom

dome to have changed certaine things of the Papie Lawes, although their old age was never so venerable? Lawes that forc'd the People to put their children into the world, before the Age ordained by the *Julian* Lawes to contract mariage, and which shewed them ridiculous, in taking thought with solitary care for the birth of men.

There were also Lawes that permitted Creditors to cut in pieces the bodies of their Debtors, when destitute of meanes to pay what was due to them. But these Lawes are abolished, and the following Ages by a more feeling humanity, have universally condemned this cruelty as too barbarous. They exempted the poor from capital punishment, but not to leave them without chastisement imprinted shame in their foreheads, by ordaining their goods to bee publicly sold, that their infamy might be publick in like manner, choosing thereby rather to make bloud ascend into their faces, then to let it out of the bodies of such poore men.

How many other crimes doe you thinke there are in your State, whereof you know not the injustice, and which deserve to be corrected? Surely, seeing equity is the onely object all Laws ought to propose; Laws themselves are neither for the number of years or dignity of their Authour, but for the only consideration of the equity and justice that is in them for to bee commended. So that when once wee know they are destitute of this so necessary a condition, we have reason to neglect them though they have such authority, and condemn those which accuse them of
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injustice. But it is not enough to say your Laws are unjust, we must adde they are impertinent, and rash, when they punish men for their Names sake onely, as those are that are published against Christians; if it bee true, Lawes ought to punish actions, if in respect of all other persons they will have the condemnation to be grounded on the proove of the fact, and not on the name of the accused: Is it not a strange thing that in our Cause they take onely the name we beare to punish us for the crimes they impute unto us? I have committed incest, why require they not my life for the same? I have kill'd a Childe, how comes it to passe, they extort not from mee the confession of these crimes by racks, and tortures? I have offended the Majestie of the gods, and the Prince (say they) why is not my defence heard to know if I have wherewithall to justifie my selfe with respect to those crimes they accuse me of? There is no law forbids mee to examine that which is liable to condemnation, neither doth a judge justly inflict punishment, unlesse he findes the accused to have offended against the publicke ordinances. Neither can a Citizen give the obedience that hee ought to the law, unlesse hee know of what nature the action is which it punisheth. It sufficeth not the law bee good in it selfe: but so it must be knowne also from those from whom it expecteth obedience. For that is to be suspected which will not let us trie whether or no it be just: but without all apparent proove of its equity will absolutely have what it condemneth to be executed. Such a Law cannot but be wicked.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

BUt (to say something of the originall of the Lawes you oppose against us) there was an ancient Law that forbade introducing new ceremonies into Religion, as worshipping strange Deities, unless approved by the Senate: this was an inviolable and unalterable Law to which the Prince or Emperour himselfe was subject. *Marcus Æmilius* knew what his power was, when he would have had divine honours rendred to his Idol called the god *Alburnus*, but he could not obtaine the same. A strange thing, and advantagious for our part against you! that the gods with you must depend upon the approbation of men: if men like not God, hee shall no longer be a God; and man must now be propitious to God. It was by vertue of this Law the Emperour *Tiberius* (under whom the name Christian began to be made famous) propounded to the Senate to receive among the number of their gods, Jesus Christ, of whom he heard great miracles had been done, from the intelligence given him by those Commanders under him in *Palestine*, the place where Christ our Master first Preached the mystery of his Divinity.

This Prince witnessed at first, that he enclined to ordaine for him the honour he rendred to his other gods: the Senate rejected the proposition, and would
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not approve of a God they did not know. *Tiberius* remained firme in his resolution, and threatned disgrace to those that went about to accuse the Christians.

Read your ancient Records: you shall finde there *Nero* the first of all the Emperours that persecuted our Religion, when it was in its birth: which much redounded to our glory, that this Monster should be the first of all others that condemned us; for whosoever knew his life, must needs judge it could not otherwise be, but what he condemned was most highly to be esteemed.

Domitian (whose cruelty made up that of *Nero's*) did sometimes resolve also to molest us: but as his thoughts and resolutions were contrary to humane condition, his minde of it selfe turned to render us the peace he had taken from us, and to recall those Christians he had banished. In briefe, we were never persecuted, but by Princes, whose actions were full of injustice, whose minds of impiety, and whose manners of shame and infamy, never persecuted of any but of those whose lives your owne selves are wont to condemn, and whose odious governments oblige you to revoke their judgements, in re-establishing innocents which have beene so miserable as to be the unhappy objects of their fury. Princes who by their vertue got the love of the people, have not been our enemies; and of all the Emperours commanding this State till now, and that had any sense of Piety and Religion towards your gods, or whose conduct was animated by the spirit of humane wisdom

dome, you cannot name one that persecuted the Christians. On the contrary, it will bee found, the Emperour *Marke Aurelius*, a very wise Prince, was our Protector; if you see the Letters hee writ touching the extreame incommodity his Army suffered whilst he made war in *Germany*, you shall finde hee there witnesse, that the prayers of the Christian Souldiers in his Troops, obtained from Heaven that favourable raine which quenched the thirst wherewith they were oppressed.

This Prince resolving to make acknowledgement of their affection, and the good will they bore him; and yet not purposing to infringe the authority of his Predecessors, did not publicly discharge the Christians from the punishments enacted against them, but rendred their power useles in the sight of all the world, another way, by ordaining their Accusers to be inflicted also with the extreamest punishment. Consider then a little what force these Lawes ought to have, where none made use of them against us, but these Emperours that are defamed with all manner of impietie, injustice, villany, cruelty, lightness, and folly: which *Trajan* frustrated in part, in forbidding to inquire after Christians, which were never confirmed by an *Adrian*, a Prince curious of all rare and excellent things, by a *Vespasian* who conquered *Judea*, by an *Antoninus Pius*, nor by a *Marcus Aurelius*: If our lives were wicked, as is supposed, we should not feare affliction from wicked Princes, because Companions of their Vices, but rather punishment to bee inflicted upon us from them who

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make profession of honesty, whom being vertuous we might sooner feare to become our enemies, and ready upon all occasions to seeke means to disturbe us.

CHAP. VI.

BUT I could wish these men that appeare so religiously, and so zealously observant of their owne Lawes, and so severe defenders of things instituted by their Ancestors, would answer to the demands I shall make them; namely, whether they have kept their Faith inviolable? whether rendred the honour and obedience they ought to the good Rules left them by their fore-Fathers? whether there are not some Laws that have lost their power and authority among them? whether they have not passed beyond the bounds prescribed by ancient simplicity? or rather not banished from their policy all that their Fathers judged necessary and convenient to establish a good government? what are become of the Laws which cut off Luxury, superfluous and ambitious expences? which commanded what we spent at a Feast should not exceed five shillings? that would have us serve up but one Hen at a meale, and that not a fat one neither? which forbade a Senator entrance into the Senate, who had in his house twenty markes of silver; (as if in that alone one might justly suspect he would seeme too magnificent) that
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would overthrow the Theatres after newly set up, supposing the use of shewes would not serve but to corrupt manners? which would not suffer any man rashly and without punishment to usurp the emblems of great dignities, belonging to persons of noble birth?

But now I see superfluity gives names to Feasts, they call them *Hundreds*, because of so many hundred Crownes spent at such Feasts. They also draw out of the Mines silver to make Basins, not onely for Senators but Free-men, and those that not yet come to obtaine their freedome, yea that scarce exempt from the miseries of servitude: I see it is not enough in open Theatres to content the eyes of the People, but by drawing vast Covertures over, they arme themselves against the injuries of the Ayre, to fulfill their pleasures by the objects of those infamous representations. For they imitate the *Lacedemonians*, who were the first that tooke care to see publique Playes at their ease, and covered themselves with large and heavy Gownes for feare lest during the winter, they should catch cold, in injoying their dishonest and unchaste pleasures. I see no difference between the women of honour, and those that are infamous and lewd; they observe not any longer those holy institutions of former times, that injoynd women to have speciall care of modesty and temperance. When a woman wore no more gold then that on the finger she put the Ring her Husband gave her the day shee was married, to bee the gage of her conjugall Faith. When it was so absolutely forbidden

women to drink Wine, that there was one that her neare Kinsman caused to be starved, because she had broke the scales wherewith his Cellars were shut up; and under the reigne of *Romulus* one *Mecenius* killed his Wife for the same cause, and was absolved for it.

Therefore it was established that they should kiss their Parents, that they might judge by their breath, if they had offended against this Law. Where are now those happy Mariages, and good maners, maintained in such a perfect harmony, that we have seen neare six hundred years since the foundation of this City pass, without hearing so much as a divorce once spoke of in any one family onely?

NOTE — Women now a dayes have never a part of their bodies which bows not under the weight of the gold they weare: a man cannot kiss them without smelling the Wine they drinke; and wee are fallen into those times, it seems, that people marry onely to be repudiated, and divorce is the fruit of marriage: But this is not all, for as religious as you will appear in the observation of the ancient institutions of your Fathers, you have revoked what they ordained with serious deliberation concerning the worship of your gods. The Consuls with the Authority of the Senate, banished, not only from the City, but also from all *Italy*; Father *Bacchus*, with all ceremonies done in his honour; *Piso* and *Gabinus* were not Christians, and yet during their Consulship, they forbad to place in the Capitoll, *Serapis*, *Isis*, *Harpocrates*, and that Image which had the head of a dog, that

that is to say, they put them away from the Palace of the gods. They tooke from them their divine honours, and caused their Altars to be beat down, that the disorder of vaine and dishonest superstitions might be restrained.

You have re-established all these gods in the dignity they had taken from them, and make them partake of honours due to the highest Majesty knowne by mortals. Tell me where is your Religion? where the reverence you owe to your fore-Fathers? you render your selves unlike them, in your habits, custome of living, manners, opinions, and lastly in your very words & language? you always praise antiquity, and every day receive new things: so that you remove from you as much as is possible, the laudable institutions of your Ancestors, and as for the things that are established, you keep none of them, but what deserve not to be kept. There is moreover, this in it, for I will shew presently that by a negligence, that injureth the authority of your fore-Fathers, although you have set up againe the Altars of *Serapis*, that by your means this god might be no more a stranger at *Rome*, and have presented your sacrifices to *Bacchus*, whom you cause to be worshipped in *Italy*, you have no more this great affection to the worship of the gods, which antiquity held so unfortunate an error, and so strange a blindness; you your selves destroy the Religion your Fathers taught you, whilst pass for its faithfull protectors, and accuse Christians principally of being guilty of impiety towards them; yet notwithstanding I must justify our profession

from the infamy of the hidden crimes which they object against it, that I may prepare a way, to arrive at the point which concerns the actions we doe in the sight of all the world.

CHAP. VII.

I Say then, the crimes pretended against us, the horror whereof makes us pass for wicked in the opinion of the people, are, that wee meet together to sacrifice a childe; after we have taken away his life by a barbarous superstition, we devoure his body, and when devoured the flesh of this Innocent, we commit incests. They adde, we have Dogs who serve to overthrow the Candles, and doing the Office of these infamous Merchants of modesty, make us lose all shame in taking the lights from us, and covering our actions under the vaile of darkness, emboldens us to seek the use of ungodly and sacrilegious pleasures.

But so it is, we are not guilty, save in the discourse you make concerning us. It's a long time since you imputed to us all these things, and though you accuse us of them every day, yet you make not much inquiry to know the truth thereof. If you take us to be faulty, why make you not process against us as criminals? but seeing you have not as yet convicted us by a lawfull proceeding, you should not have such an evill opinion of us; and certainly that which
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moves you to use dissimulation in what concerns us, tells you we are unjustly accused. Therefore is it you dare not undertake to informe against us, and when you give the Executioners the order they are to observe in tormenting Christians; you command them to draw from their mouthes, not the confession of what they are, but the disavowing the Religion they profess.

Now (as we have already said) the doctrine which we follow, began from the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*; from its beginning it hath drawne on it the hatreds of men: it hath met with as many enemies, as it hath found people in the darkness of Idolatry; even those who ought to have received it: The Jewes, to whom it was revealed, are set against it, by a spirit of jealousie, because it would destroy their Law. Soldiers in their usual persecuting us are accustomed to be against it, & our domesticks becoming our adversaries by an evill inclination of nature, have beene the first that made war against it. From thence it comes, that every day we see our selvs besieged, we are betrayed at every instant, and very often they take us in our Assemblies. This being so, I ask when did it fall out, that ever any one surprized us at the same time, when a Childe having the knife set to his throat, gave forth his last crye before we cut his winde-pipe asunder? was there any that finding a Christians mouth bleeding, as of the Cyclops, and the Cyrenes after such a deed done by us, presented it to the Judges? Who among you ever discerned in his Wife any symptome or token of unchastity, after
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our Religion at any time sincerely imbraced by her ? Is it possible our Enemies should hide such strange crimes as laid to our charge, after once discovering us to be faulty therein ? or that they that take such a pride in persecuting and dragging us before the Tribunall of justice, should be corrupted in our behalfe ? you say we doe nothing but in obscurity : if it bee as you say, tell us, when knew you wee did what you accuse us of, and in whose power it was to give you the certaine knowledge of it ? it's not likely you had it from the mouthes of them you judge guiltie : for all Mysteries are to be kept secret; and to partake of them as we ought, the Law of silence is faithfully to be observed by us. Men usually say nothing of the mysteries of *Samothracia* or *Eleusina* : How much rather ought they to bee carefull, not to reveale those which would excite against them, were they knowne the rigour both of humane and divine justice.

They are not Christians it seems then, that discover themselves unto you ; and if not Christians, then must they be people of different profession, that discourse of their actions. But how should such a peoples knowledge bee informed in those mysteries to be laid open by them, seeing even the ceremonies where piety presides puts away the profane, and suffers no strange witnesses, unless they will have it said, Christians are impious, and the wicked feare lesse to be seen then the good. So you must confess you know nothing of our doings, but by common bruit, uncertain prooffe, of the weakeness whereof
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there is no man ignorant? Is there any who knows not the nature of it? One of your Authours said, fame is the swiftest of all evils? why thinke you call they it an evill? is it because of its swiftness? or because its principall office is to discover hidden things? or that it often declareth lies; indeed it hath this evill quality, even when reporting something of truth it cannot forbear to mingle the same with leasing or falshood. Truth never passeth purely through fames mouth, either she adds something to, or takes something from, or makes some notable change in it: besides, she hath also this fault, her credit lasts no longer then she lies: she hath no life, but so long as she certainly proves nothing: so soon as make evident her prooffe, she ceaseth to be any longer Fame, whose property is to make relation of nothing but what's not certainly knowne: so soone is delivered for certaine, the assurance of the thing delivered succeeds immediatly into its place, as being no longer a bruit, but a knowne and profess'd truth. At what time and when such a thing is known, we say not it's so reported, or so the bruit goes, but so or so it is without doubt.

For example, we use to say, such a man hath got such a government, in such a Province, when wee know certainly hee hath got the same: and when not, it is so famed, or so reported. After we are assured of a thing, we make no more reckoning of Fame, which is an expression of doubt and uncertainty. So there are none but fools ground themselves upon reports; wise men believe nothing but what is certain,

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and what time also hath verified on her behalfe. And certainly, as generall and diffused as fame may bee, what belife soever she hath got with men, and with what assurance soever they esteeme her, wee must alwayes consider she had a beginning since she hath passed through divers tongues and eares, which have given her the vogue shee hath in the world. Her originall is ordinarily weake and vicious: but together with all her faults she authoriseth and covers all that is added to her from her birth, because no body mounts up to the source, and troubles himselfe to know whether or no the first Author of the relation thereof began with a lie: which falls out often, either through hatred to them fame reares in peeces, or liberty usurped to make evill judgments upon simple suspicions, or the pleasure some take in lying, a pleasure not new among men, and to which many are so naturally inclined. But God be thanked, time reveals the truth of all things; it is a sentence wee have from you, and whereof wee make use against you, the established order of nature cannot suffer any thing long to remaine hid: but in the end makes that appear which fame had not discovered. Judge then if it be as reasonable you should still persecute us seeing after so long time ther's nothing but bare report to informe you in the knowledge of the crimes we are supposed to commit, nothing proved against us by you, but her testimony which is so much the more evill, because shee cannot yet prove what she hath heeretofore invented to make us appeare odious, and which for so many
yeares

yeares thee hath affirmed upon the opinion onely of certaine men.

CHAP. VIII.

IT is not enough to shew you the weakenesse of the proofes you imploy against us, I will make knowne our innocence by your own judgement, to overthrow the opinion you have conceived against our life: I demand but the testimony of nature, who is your mother as well as ours. Suppose Christians promise Eternall life, as a recompence for all these crimes so full of horreur: You may believe it if you list, but I would also know, if after perswaded by such blacke actions a man might merit Heaven, you would bee so barbarous as to desire it at such a rate. Can it be imagined one should say these words or the like unto you? come on hither, die your sword in the bloud of a Child, I say in a Childs bloud whose tender age ought to have no enemy, who cannot be guilty of injuring any body, and whom every one with a fatherly Love ought to cherish.

Or if the charge of shedding a Childs bloud bee committed to another, can it be supposed we should use this discourse unto you? Be present at the bloody death of an infant who meets with the end of his life in the beginning of his dayes, see a soule depart out of a body so soone as it came in, take this blood

newly animated, dip your bread in it, and fill your selfe with the substance thereof. Againe, while at Table, marke well where your Mother, and Sister, are seated, that you may not faile to find them out, after they are left in the darke, by dogs overthrowing the Candles, consequently extinguishing the light. For you must know, you cannot but be faulty if you commit not incest. If profiting by these our instructions, you square your Faith by the practise of such actions, assure your selfe you shall receive everlasting life. Answer me now, would you to get this never fading felicity do things so contrary to all humanity? If nature it selfe be of force sufficient to divert your owne minds from acting such irregular courses, you cannot I perswade my selfe, be induced to believe that other men would bee faulty therein: Yea though yee certainly believe this the onely way to eternall happinesse. I dare say you would not by such meanes so barbarously defile your selves; no neither if you had any such desire, have the courage to performe the same. Judge then of us by your selves, and know wee can no more commit these crimes then you, or if wee can, your selves as liable thereunto as we.

But what do you thinke our judgements different from yours? that Christians of another race of mankind then you are? do you take us for the *Cynocephales*, & *Sciapodes*, Monsters of *India* & *Lybia*? do you believe we are made otherwise then other men, that the faculties of our bodies otherwise disposed and by a savagenesse more then the most brutish of all people,
excite us

us onely to feed on blood , and violate the Lawes of nature, in the use of embracements which it forbids? Certainly if believe these things of Christians ther's somwhat in it that you should doe so, we are men as well as you : And therefore if your souls abhor such like actions, you ought not imagine us in regard men as well as Christians, to commit them. You acknowledge these crimes contrary to nature: but you say we deceive them who know us not ; as if the calumnies you invented against the Christians were not publicke or any could be ignorant thereof. That which all the world knowes cannot bee dissembled, and those who have embraced the Law of Jesus Christ, take not this resolution , without well considering it : but after all things exactly pondered they finde we are innocent of the crimes wherewith they accuse us. Besides , its a common use, that those who will bee instructed in a Religion, adresse themselves to the cheife Priests , to learne of them what they ought to prepare that pertake of his mysteries. Then if it be true, Christians are guilty of these impieties, there's no doubt but the Priest, whose charge is to receive him who would bee instructed, speakes to him in this manner: Friend, you must be carefull to provide a childe that is yet in the innocence of his first age, who knowes not what death means, and rejoiceth at the sight of the knife that must cut his throat.

You must have a loafe to put under the wound to receive the bloud which runnes from it. You must make provision of Candlesticks and Lamps : You

must bring Dogs; which when you throw meat to them to eat out of the reach of the string where-with tied, the desire of filling themselves there-with may excite them to make such a leape, that they overthrow the Candlesticks to which they are tied, and by this means put out the lights: but first it is necessary you cause your Mother and Sister to be present. Yea, but how if they wil not consent to it? If he hath neither Mother nor Sister? If no kindred that would be a Christian, can he not be received? and these relations of Brother or Son, are they essentiall to the qualitie of Christians? I say more, suppose they have all these things ready, without advertising those who have no knowledge thereof: one cannot denie but they learne presently what is done in their Assemblies; and yet they remain firme, after turning unto Christianity they complaine not of being deceived: but you say they feare to be punished, if they discover the evill they have done. Contrarily, if any be found that call for the publick Authority against Christians as against impostors, there would be none but would speake in their behalfe. Moreover, if the actions of Christians were so detestable as you make them, those whom they should so abuse, would rather expose themselves to death then live with the remorse of so criminall a conscience. But after all, suppose they feare to accuse themselves, how comes it they persevere so constantly, and keep their religion in the midst of persecutions? for men are not wont to tie themselves with such constancy to a profession, which they had
not

not imbraced, if not beene well inform'd of it from the beginning.

CHAP. IX.

BUT, to make it knowne wee are not guilty of these crimes, I will shew, that you your selves in publick & private cōmit the same; for it may bee for this reason it is you lay them to our charge. Men heretofore publicly sacrificed Children in *Africa* to *Saturn*, untill the time of *Tiberius*, by whose Commandment, he that governed this Province under him, abolish'd so strange a barbarisme, causing the Priests, the authours of these impieties, to be put to death in their room, on the trees which were near the Temple of this god; trees whereon they were wont to hang the offerings they presented to him, and where the leaves seemed to comply with the crimes committed under their shades.

A just punishment, and which these miserable creatures suffered in the view of the Souldiers, in the Countrey of my Nativity, who served the Lieutenant of the Emperour in the execution of this commission. They still continue these bloody and detestable sacrifices: but they doe them privately, and hide themselves when they shed the bloud of innocents.

So you see they are not Christians onely that contemne your Lawes: your owne people slight your injunctions:

injunctions : whatsoever severity used by you , you cannot thoroughly pluck out of mens hearts the roots of this criminall devotion, and your gods change not their manners , in having changed their condition.

Saturn that pardoned not his own children, much lesse would spare children not his owne. Since hee ceased to live upon the earth, hee lost not the desire of bloud he had before. Ever since men made him a god, he continually receiveth the offering up of innocents unto him from the hands of their owne Fathers, who by an unlucky superstition, making sacrifices to their gods , take away the lives of them to whom they had given the same; who voluntarily obliged themselves to this impiety ; and who in this action where their owne Children were the victims sacrificed by them, entertained them with flatteries, not without any feeling of compassion, fearing the mystery might be interrupted, if they suffer not their throats to be cut without shedding teares. Tell us a little, whether the crime of murther you impute to us, be not farre beneath that of Paricide, which your People are guilty of? The Gauls offered on the Altars of *Mercury* , men which had attained to their full strength or age of perfection.

I passe by the fables of the horrible sacrifices that were offered up in the Temple of *Diana Taurica*, as matter fitter to be represented on Theatres. There is also in this so religious a City, and Temples of the pious off-spring of *Aeneas* , a *Jupiter* in honour of whom they make playes, where they shed humane
bloud,

bloud, by Combates with men and wild Beasts. You tell me, you expose none but those that are already condemned to dye. Alas, what then? Is it not the shedding of humane bloud, to shed the bloud of these miserable creatures? But this sacrifice, is it not much more detestable, then the bloud of the wicked which is presented to a God? whatsoever excuse you may seek for, this truth remaines alwayes certaine, that this bloud which you offer, is the bloud of a man, whom you have caused to be cut in pieces, and you cannot accomplish your vowes without committing murther.

Certainly, your *Jupiter* much resembles *Jesus Christ*: for he thirsts as much for bloud, as you suppose our Master loves to see it shed, and as he is the onely Son of his Father; which you must acknowledge could never bee, had not *Saturne* a cruell hearr.

Let us passe now from murthering children in sacrifices, to other kinde of wilfull murthering by their Parents; (for in what manner soever they take away their childrens lives, it is alwayes murthering them, although not alwayes alike hainous:) I will then address my speech to all Idolaters: how many are there among you, O ye people, that are this way greedy of the bloud of Christians? and also among you, O ye Magistrates, that after you appeare such great Justiciars by the severity you treat us with, whose consciences I would strike with true reproaches of having procured the death of your own children? yet if you did but simply put them to death,

it were somewhat ; but by a strange excess of cruelty, you throw them into the water, you expose them to the rigour of cold and hunger, and the rage of dogs : you will not take their lives away with the sword, because too gentle a death, and which men of the age of discretion had rather suffer, than any other that hath violence in it.

As for us that are Christians, homicide is particularly forbidden us, by vertue whereof, it's likewise inhibited us to destroy that which the Mother hath conceived in her womb, though yet but bloud, and deliberating (as I may so speake) in the presence of nature, whether or no it take the forme of man : It's a committing murther before hand, to destroy that which is to be born ; and as much evill in hindring the birth of a soule, as in plucking it out of the body when it is borne : that which should come into the world being a man, and the fruit already in the seed which produceth it.

As for that custome, so full of inhumanity, to drinke bloud, and to feed on such tragick meats, you may read further in *Herodotus*, it being he, as I think, who reports, that certaine Nations assembling to sweare Treaties, were accustomed to draw bloud from their Armes, which presenting one to the other, they drank solemnly.

There passed some such thing in the conjuration of *Cateline*. They say also among the *Scythians*, in certaine Families they that are neare alli'd use to devour the bodies of their dead kindred : but wee need not goe so far ; we have among us the use of these

these barbarous ceremonies. The Priests of *Bellona*, shedding their owne blood, and consecrating it to their Goddess, after putting it in the palme of their hand, give it to those who participate with them in their mysteries. In the publick spectacles of the combats of the Gladiators, they that are subject to the falling sickness, seek their cure by the practice of a Remedy worse then the Disease, *viz.* seeing the blood of these wretched creatures newly slain; they receive the same while running from their wounds, and to obtaine their healths, fill themselves in such a brutish greediness, with the substance of these poore people, who are men as well themselves.

What shall wee say of these that make whole meals meats of these poor creatures (before key-cold) kill'd upon the place of combate, and aske at the same time for a piece of the wild Boare, and of the Stag lying dead also upon the place? a piece of that wild Boare, which having torn in pieces his assailant, whilst they were yet in the encounter, licked up the blood flowing from his wounds; againe a piece of that Stag, even yet sweltring in the gore of the Gladiator whom he pierced with his horne: The people also aske for the intrails of Beares, which are full of the bodies of men they have devoured; so men fill themselves with flesh nourished by that of men. As for you that eat these meats, how much are your meales different from the meales of Christians? But what judgement shall one give of these who by a brutish concupiscence make impure meat for them-

selves of that which contributeth to the birth of men? are they lesse guilty then others, because they devour the substance of the living? can one say in the filth to which they abandon themselves, there is no humane blood, because the matter they suck in is that wherewith blood is made? These people eat not onely children, but men, old enough to put other men into the world.

Certainly it must needs bee, these disorders with you, should make you blush before Christians, who as you know, eat not the blood of any creature, and for that reason feed not on the meat of any creatures stifled, and abstaine from that of beasts which have not been slaine, for feare they should have the least blood that is, even that dri'd up or yet remaining in the flesh of the strangled beast to defile themselves with.

This is the reason also, you offer them puddings made with the blood of beasts when you trie them, being well informed, that what you suppose they sin most in, if they accepted thereof, is most straitly interdicted them. Is it possible, think you, we thirst after the blood of men, when you know by experience, we abhorre the blood even of beasts? This opinion cannot enter into your mindes, unless having tasted of the one and the other both, humane blood seems to you the most pleasing.

But if perswaded Christians inhumanly devoure this blood, how comes it to pass you make not use thereof to trie them? you should offer them mans blood, as usually you offer them incense-fire: They'l
soone

soon discover themselves in not taking this drinke from your hands, as when refuse to sacrifice Incense; and thereby you may have this advantage of two severall proofes to condemne them with; namely, their refusing to taste mans blood, and their not offering up Incense to your gods.

The criminall justice you execute upon supposed offenders will furnish you this way with blood enough to convince all manner of Christians brought before you. But to speak of the crime of Incest, who should a man sooner suspect to be guilty of this wickedness, then those to whom the greatest of their gods (to wit, *Jupiter*) hath given an example? The *Persians* (as *Cresias* reports) mingle themselves incestuously with their owne Mothers. The *Macedonians* it seems are not exempt from this sin, in regard the mocking complaints *Oedipus* makes in the Tragedy of *Sophocles*, because of the Incest he had committed with *Jocaste*, in laughing to see him so afflicted, they said, goe fight generously, and overcome your Mother. As for you, if open but your owne eyes, you cannot but take notice, that Incontinence, whose slaves you are, nourisheth you with disorders, inconsiderately precipitating you into this foule crime: for you expose your children to the open aire by putting them from you, that passengers having more compassion of their hard destiny then your selves, might bring them up, or else make them over to be adopted by other Fathers of a better disposition then your selves: Now it cannot be, but in time you lose the knowledge of your blood, which you abandon

don to strangers, and when once for want of this knowledge, begin to offend the error in which you so imprudently engage your selves, increasing by course of yeares, your care will perpetuate it selfe with the vice of its incestuous beginning. And truly your lust accompanies you in all places where you goe: it remains with you in your houses: it leaves you not when you travell; it passeth Sea with you, from whence it falls out you lose no opportunity fulfilling your concupiscence, it's very difficult not to meet in some places of the World with persons that know not your birth, and theirs have the same beginning, and that descended of the same kinred and lineage that you are. It's also very hard, leaving your seed all the world over, it produceth not children unto you which by the commerce men have one with another, are joyned to you, or yours, by an incestuous conjunction, and thereby mingling your blood with that of your neer kinred, without knowing the same.

As for us, the chastity whereof wee make exact profession, and which wee keep with greatest assurance, will warrant us from these accidents, and as enable us against incontinency, by living purely in the estate of marriage, preserve us from falling into the sin of Incest.

Yea, there are many among us, who to avoid these disorders, with greater prevention, vow to God their virginity, which they happily keep till the extremity of old age, that (as it were) renders and renewes unto them the innocency of their first yeares.

yeares. Certainly, if consider you your selves guilty of these crimes imputed by you to Christians, you would presently confesse that they are innocent. The light of your owne understanding could not but condemn your selves and acquit them at one and the same instant. But it falls out ordinarily, by the rencounter of a double blindness, that they who see not that which is, imagine they see that which is not. I will shew you by and by the truth of this proposition in all things, but speake first of those which are more manifest.

CHAP. X.

YOU say we doe not worship the gods, nor for the welfare of the Emperours offer Sacrifices unto them. The one of these two crimes whereof you accuse us, must necessarily follow upon the neck, or in consequence of the other: for being resolved to render no manner of worship to your deities, wee must necessarily bee resolved in like manner, not to sacrifice to their Altars, whether for our selves, or for what person soever it be. Hereupon you conclude us guiltie of sacriledge and high treason, which is the upshot of what you charge us withall: and the argument most convincing of all other, whereof you accuse us. And truly it well deserves to be examined, because the judgement of our innocence wholly depends thereon: the
judge-

judgment I say of our guilt or innocence in this matter, that neither prejudice nor injustice pronounce the sentence: not prejudice which upon all occasions refuseth to heare, nor injustice which by all means refuseth to allow of truth when ready to bee alleaged in our defence: We say then, we have desisted from honouring your gods, since the first time we knew them to bee no gods. That which to bee expected by you from us, is, wee prove those you adore as gods, to bee no gods, and therefore unworthy the worship you render them: for it is true, honour should be due unto them, if they were true deities; and Christians were punishable, if this title of a god appertained unto those whom they refuse to adore, for the opinion onely they conceive they are no gods. But you adde, they are your gods: in answer thereunto, we appeale from your words to your Consciences: We are willing they both judge and condemn us, if it can be maintained your gods have not been men as well as your selves; if it be denied, we will convince it of falshood, by the testimony of antiquitie, which shewes us the Cities where they were born, the Countries where they left Monuments of their actions, and places where they were buried.

I will not stay to speake to you of all particularly: there is too great a number of them, new, old, Barbarians, Greeks, Romans, Strangers, Captives, gods that are particularly adored in each Province, those that are knowne in *Greece* and at *Rome*, males, and females, gods of Countries, and gods of Cities, Seafaring and Warfaring gods. It were to lose time

to repeat what may bee said of every one of them, I will onely speake of them in grosse, not to make you know them, but to recall your knowledge by remembring their beginning, which it seemes you have forgot.

You have never a god ancienter then *Saturn*: from him begins all that Deity to which you address your Vows, at least the principall and the most known: That which you say touching his originall, may fitly enough be applyed to those descended from him. If believe written Books, we shal find that neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Tallus*, nor *Crassus Severus*, nor *Cornelius Nepos*, nor any other ancient Historian, have spoke of *Saturne* otherwise then of a man. If seeke for proofes drawn out of publick Records or monuments, we cannot meet with faithfuller, or more certaine then those we have in *Italy* it selfe, where we learn, that *Saturn* after many Voyages landed in this Province, while comming from *Greece*, and was received there by *Janus* or *Janes* (as the *Salians* will have it.) The Mountaine where he dwelt was called *Saturnien*: the Citie hee founded carries even untill now, the same appellation, and in conclusion all *Italy* after that of *Oenotirian* was called by his name. It was hee who first found out the invention of Tables and signing or marking money with the Image of Princes, from whence it comes, that the publique Treasure is placed by you in his Temple: Now if *Saturn* were a man, hee was the Son of another man; and being his Father was a man, you cannot say he was the Son of Heaven, and Earth.

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It is an errour proceeding from hence when *Sauru*, focal'd, that his original was not known, and because they knew not of what race hee was, they easily fell to this beliefe, that he had for his Parents Heaven and Earth, the which a man justly may stile the parents of all Mankinde: for who is he that for reverence or honours sake, calls not Heaven and Earth the Father and Mother of us all? or else they had this thought of *Saturu*, namely, that as men are used to say of those they never saw; till comming upon them on a sudden, they are come from Heaven.

So *Saturne* in person thus surprising the Inhabitants of the places where he first landed, passed after for a Divine person, the vulgar calling them Children of the Earth, also whose originall is altogether uncertaine to them. I could tell you people in these times were so grosse, that if a man not wont formerly to bee among them, shewed himselfe to them, they were moved with it in the same manner, as if they had seene a god. Which ought not seem strange, seeing now adaies, the wits of men are so refined, that at present put them in the number of the living gods, who a little before by the Ceremony of a funerall pomp, you knew to bee onely dead men. Enough of *Saturu*, although but a little spoken of him. Wee will shew now that as *Jupiter* the Son of a Man, hee was Man also, as well as his Father, and all the discent of your gods mortall, and of the same condition with those, of whom taking their Birth they are descended.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

BUT because you dare not deny your gods have lived as men, to the end you may justify the worship given by you unto them; you say, their deities were established unto them after death: let us then examine the causes that should raise men up into this glory.

First, you must grant a greater God then them, a power upon which the power of your gods depends, as of their Sovereign, a god who made those your gods of me, by endowing them with a divine nature; for of themselves they could never attaine this qualitie which was not in them, neither is there any but hee who had it of his owne nature, that could give a part thereof to them to whom it did not appertaine originally: That if there were not a God, who gave this divinitie to men: if not, acknowledge this principle Author; it would be but in vaine to think they were made gods after they ceased to live here on the Earth as men. Briefly, had they had the power of making themselves gods, they would never have been born men, and subjected themselves to mortality, while injoy they might the possession of a far more excellent condition.

Then if there bee a chiefe God that makes gods, I returne to the search of the causes which should oblige him, being the chiefe, to communicate to men

this high Majestic: and I finde none unless wee say this chiefe God had need of their ministry where-with to exercise his functions more perfectly: But it's an injuring the Authour of all things, to thinke he needed the help of any one living, much lesse should imploy to so excellent an end the ministry of dead men. This wise providence could not but well foresee such an assistance would be necessary to him for the time to come, and in this foreknowledge it had been more convenient for him to make gods assistant to himselfe from the very beginning, then stay the end of these mens lives subjected to mortalitie, whom he purposed to make his fellow gods.

But I see no need God Almighty had to make other gods; for what manner of thought soever wee have of this world, whether it had no beginning and was never made, (according to the opinion of *Pythagoras*) or that there was a time when it had a beginning, & was made, (according to the opinion of *Plato*) the eternall Wisdome at the same instant doubtless when he formed it, foresaw by an absolute & admirable exquisiteness all that was necessary for the government thereof; he who gives perfection to all other things, could not be imperfect to himselfe, as expecting help from *Saturn*, or any other of *Saturns* race to adde to his perfection.

Men would be thought to be very simple if from the beginning of time they believed not both raine to have fallen from the Clouds, starrs to have darted out their beames from Heaven, light to have shone, Thunder to have made a noise, and *Jupiter* himselfe
to

to have trembled (as it were) at the terrible roaring of Thunderbolts put by God into his hands. Also the Earth produced all sorts of fruits before *Bacchus*, *Ceres* and *Minerva* lived, yea before those whom you make your greatest Gods raigned upon the Earth. That which serves to entertaine the life of man is as ancient as himselfe, providence giving him a being, gave him at the same time all things whereof hee stood in need; and men could not have invented any thing more for their preservation, then what was before: let them not say therefore they are the Authors; but onely after finding out the same, when created before by God that taught others how they should make use thereof; which presupposeth such things were before such, as they shewed their use. And from thence followes the glory or honour thereof is not to be attributed to men, but to him to whom they themselves owe their originall. If *Bacchus* were put in the number of the Gods, because hee first taught men to plant the Vine, certainly they have ill treated *Lucullus* in not making him a god also, he being the first who planted Cherry-trees in *Italy*, brought by him from the Kingdom of *Pontus*; for they ought also to have made him a god, as Author of a new fruit, because he first gave them knowledge of it. Wherefore seeing from the beginning all wee see done in the Universe, hath beene done before, as likewise all things ordayned to certaine functions of their nature, this first reason for which suppose God communicated his deity to men is rendred of no force because the same facul-

ties you give to each of your Gods inventing, were from the beginning of the world created by God, and should never have ceased to bee, or to produce their excellent effects, though you had never established those your gods. Seeke yee therefore another reason for mens being sacrificed unto, as unto gods, by saying that deifying them is the reward of their eminent vertues. From whence I suppose you must grant that this God that makes other Gods, governs by the rules of exact justice, and distributes not so noble a recompence rashly, without measuring his liberallity, and considering the merit of those whom he calls to his glory. I will therefore examine these mens actions whom you now adore as gods, to see if they be of a condition that render them worthy to bee lifted up to Heaven, or not rather (which as a man would thinke) should have cast them headlong into the bottome of Hell, a Prison (as you say sometimes) wherein the wicked are shut up, to receive the punishment of their crimes. A place where (according to your opinion) those are imprisoned who have banished from their hearts the naturall Piety that Children ought to shew towards their Parents; a place whither those are confined who commit incests with their sisters, who corrupt married women, ravish Mayds, defile themselves with boyes, use all manner of violence or outrage, kill, steale, and deceive their neighboures, and who (to shut up all in a word) by their vices, are like some of your gods; for you cannot make appeare one of them was ever exempted from all manner of faults, unlesse de-

ny him to bee at any time man. But you must acknowledge, your gods have been of the condition of men, because the actions you attribute to them witnesseth they were subject to such disorders, as are tokens of the weakness of our nature, and tokens I say which permit not, wee can be perswaded that after death they should be stiled gods.

In a word, if wont to punish those who suffer themselves to be carried away with these disorders; if as many of you as are people of any good manners, avoid the commerce, conversation, and societie of vicious and infamous persons, thinke you, God hath called you to possession of his Deitie those whom they resemble? or if any such matter believed by you, how comes it to pass you condemn criminals? you that adore the companions of their crimes? the justice you seem to exercise in this world, serves not in heaven but for a subject of mockery, and derision. If render your selves conformable to your gods, you must ascribe divine honours to the wickedst of all men, it being an honour to those gods you adore, to make gods of men most like unto them in all maner of abominable filthiness.

But to omit speaking any further of things so unworthy of divine worship, I could wish so long as they lived here below, they had been of better report, had passed their dayes here in perfect integrity. How many nevertheless of better reputation then these whom you worship for gods, have you left in Hell? have you not there put *Socrates* so renowned for his wisdom? Also *Aristides*, no less famous to
all

all posteritie for his justice? *Themistocles*, who was so excellent a Souldier? *Alexander*, who by his high enterprizes made himself so great and terrible? *Policrates*, who was so happy? *Cresus* who possessed so much riches? and *Demosthenes* whose eloquence was so admirable? Were there any of your gods wiser then *Cato*? juster, or more warlike then *Scipio*? greater then *Pompey*? happier then *Sylla*? richer then *Crassus*? and eloquenter then *Cicero*? Certainly, God who knowes perfectly the merit of men, being to have his divine nature, communicated to mortall men, would have thought his graces with more equitie distributed if hee had stayed for the death of these persons to make gods of them.

But it may be he made too much haste, and thereupon after he had taken the men whom you adore, to be partakers with him of his divine Majesty, shutting up Heavens doores, could not call thither any other, these faire souls in the mean while going down to Hell; where murmuring against his injustice, by their complaint, from thence they make him still blush with shame enough unto this day.

CHAP. XII.

NOT insisting on these things any longer, I will shew you the true condition of your gods, and thereby demonstratively make it appeare that indeed they were never gods. Touching

ing whom to say what I have heard and read, I find nothing at all but the names of certaine men long since dead, fabulous reports of what they did in their life time, and thereof composed mysteries made sacred to mock the common-people withall. As for the Images you adore, that which seems to me most ridiculous, is, they are made of the same matter that other Vessels, wherewith you are ordinarily served: or rather of your moveable goods you make gods, by your consecrating them, and thereby changing the uses wherunto at first ordained by the help of Art; also you give them another form, then what they had, and of the matter thereof compose figures which you call gods: which workes cannot without much abuse and wronging the Divine Nature be done by you.

From whence neverthelesse we that are Christians may take occasion of comforting our selves with respect to those evils your gods cause us to suffer, seeing the same you make them endure before obtaine from you the titles of gods. So wheras you tye Christians to Crosses and peeces of wood, have you any image that in making thereof hath not been first fixed to such like stakes before compleated into such a shape, as thought fit by you to be worshipped in? you hang us up as publick spectacles unto all men upon Gibbets. Is it not on a Gibbet that the Masse or body of those things you call gods is set up before worshipped by you? You pearce our bodies with irons, and when forming your gods of wood, use you not the like violence with Sawes, Chissels,

and such like iron instruments upon each member of them also? You cut off our heads; and your gods have no heads till after fastened by you to their bodies, with Soder, Ciment, and Iron Cramps.

You expose us to the rage of wild beasts, and are they not such beasts you make to keepe company with, *Bacchus*, *Cybele* and *Ceres*, men carving or painting them therewith? You throw us into the flames, and have not your gods beene tryed therewith when of a shapelesse matter, the Smiths hand formed them into a Comeliter figure out of the fire? you condemn us to worke in mines, and is it not from thence your Gods made of silver and gold fetch their originall? you confine us to Islands, and have not some of your gods taken their birth, and others their death there? If any divinity in these things, it will follow, men consecrate these they punish, and that punishments are imbraced instead of gods. But in truth your gods neither know the outrages men do unto them, when they work upon their Statues, nor the honours they render them when adore and present sacrifices to them.

Most vile and prophane Wretches, that speak after this sort, that dare utter such blasphemous words (say you of us) in reproach of our gods, bee as angry and fume with rage as long as you list, whatever say, you are they that have approved the workes of *Seneca*, though inveighing more eagerly though penn'd with much more vehemence against this your superstition. Then if wee doe not adore Statues and Figures, which are as cold as the dead bodies they represent,

present, and whereof the beasts know their insensibility ; our resolution that proceeds but from the light of truth, which coming to inlighten our minds, makes us renounce your error. Is it not worthy rather of praises, then of the torments wee suffer ? Is it possible we can offend them whom wee know very well that they are not ? That which is not, suffereth no manner of injury from any body, because it is not.

CHAP. XIII.

BUT you say the gods we offend are your gods; if it be so, from whence comes it, that by your actions you shew your selves impious and sacrilegious towards them. I will maintaine it you undervalue those whom you take to bee your gods, you overthrow their Altars at the same time you are thought to reverence them, and detract from the glory thereof when you would appeare to be so zealous. Examine what follows, and see whether I say the truth.

Is it not so that some among you adore certaine gods which others adore not ? you cannot deny but you wrong those gods whom you render no honour to : the preferring of some gods necessarily implieth the neglect of others, because when of two things we chuse one, it's certaine we reject that we chuse not.

and consequently neglect the same. So you despise the gods you know not, and testifie you feare not to offend them, in denying them the worship wherewith you honour other Deities.

But (as we have touched upon before) the condition of each of your gods, depends upon the approbation of men. Hee is not a god whom your Senate, while not approving of, refuseth to owne as God.

As for your domestick gods (stiled of you by the names of Layes) you dispose of them even as of your other household or domestick goods, pawning, selling, and changing them upon all occasions, as your selvs list: of a *Saturne*, and *Minerva* you make goods for your Kitchin, when these Images are spoyled and broke with old age, in having too long time received divine honors: or else if you find yourselves incommodated in your affaires, you make money of them to help the necessity wherewith you are pressed, in which you finde more holiness, then in your gods, seeing you preferre it before the worship you render them.

You use the gods of the publick no better, then those private Layes made use of. You imploy the authority of justice to prostitute them; you put them into the Book of the publique renew, and let them out to those that offer most for them, even as you are wont to farme those incomes that are raised in the Capitol and Market. A Crier publisheth the prices of a Deitie, and in pronouncing what you judge it to bee worth doth it solemnly, and in the
same

same forme as all other things prized by you ; a Treasurer keeps Registers of the price of the Farme of a god, as of the price of all other farmes. It seems Land charged with tribute is of lesse value, then Land not subject to any duty ; a man that is imposed to a personall tax, is not noble, as a man that is exempted from it ; for these charges are markes of servitude.

Contrarily, among the gods those which pay a greater tribute are not most to be adored, but rather those to whom men have the most devotion, render a greater tribute then others. They make a shamefull commerce of the Majesty of the gods : they carry their Images even into Ale-houses, that Religion may beg an Alms there : they take money for their entrance into the Temple, & for the place they occupy there : one cannot make use of the gods freely, and their mysteries are not exempted from sale also. But what doe you in honouring them, you doe not also practice in celebrating the memory of dead men? you erect Temples and Altars both to the one, and the other, their Statues have the same Ornaments; You dress up those for men according to the diversitie of their age and condition : you observe the same thing of the gods.

What difference is there between the Feast made in honour of *Jupiter*, and Feasts of the Funerals of the dead ? between the Vessels out of which they powre Wine in sacrifices, and those they usually offer to the shades of the dead ? between the *Augure*, and he that hath the charge of the Graves ? For hee doth

the Office of an *Augure*, in Funerall Ceremonies, yet we must acknowledge you justly place your Emperours after dead in the number of the gods, seeing whilest they lived you conferred this honour upon them. Your gods are obliged to you, and they ought to thank you, because of their Masters you make them their equalls: But whereas you attribute divine honour unto *Larentina* a Common Whore, I would rather advise you to worship among your *Juno's*, *Ceres*, and *Diana's*: *Lais* or *Phryne* after the same manner. You erect a Statue to *Simon Magus*, with this Inscription, This is the Statue of a Deity. You make a Deity of I know not whom, of one that hath been bred with infamous education, and prostrated to the lewdest pleasures, even those which Nature her selfe abhorres; albeit your gods of old (being of the same stamp) were no better then such, yet they take themselves nevertheless to be foully reproached by you when using libertie to worship the aforesaid men and women with what ever divine rites your selves list, you give the same honour to others of latter edition, which was wont anciently to be ascribed onely unto themselves.

CHAP. XIV.

I Will now say something of the rites and ceremonies of your Religion; not insisting much on the condition of your sacrifices, where the beasts you offer

offer are the oldest and worst you can find: when your sacrifices are fat and well fed you keep the best of them; and offer to your gods, onely unprofitable peeces cut off from severall parts, and accustomed to be given by you in your houses, to servants or dogs. Even as of the tenth part of your goods vowed by you to *Hercules*, you present him but with a third on his Alters.

Imagine not that I blame you at all for this, contrarily its an action of wisdom mee thinkes to keep part of what would be intirely lost. But that which I thinke strange is this, the Bookes wherein instructed in worldly prudence, and from whence you draw the knowledge of all duties touching a civill life, are they not filled with impertinent and ridiculous tales concerning your Gods. In those bookes its reported that the gods have fought one with another, as the *Gladiators* in favour of the *Trojans* or *Greekes*: that *Venus* was hurt with the shaft of an Arrow, drawne by the hand of a man, when she would have pulled her son *Aeneas* from *Diomedes* who had almost kil'd her. That *Mars* remained thirty months in irons wherewith chained. That *Jupiter* by the help of a certaine monster was saved from the same violence the other gods would have made him suffer.

Sometimes they present him shedding teares for the death of *Sarpedon*, sometimes they figure him in the infamous embraces of his sister, telling him of his adventures and assuring him that the love hee bore towards his mistresse was not comparable to
that

that of theirs to him. After all, who is hee among your Poets, to flatter some Prince, invents not some unworthy thing of your gods? One will have *Apollo* employed in feeding the cattle of King *Admetus*? Another speakes of *Neptune* as of a Mercenary, recommended to *Laomedon* to build the City of *Troy*. There is a Lyrike Poet (*Pindarus* by name) who writes that *Æsculapius* was stricke with thunder, for abusing his knowledge of Physicke, by covetously making use thereof, to hurt rather then restore men unto their healths; wherein *Jupiter* was too blame, if *Jupiter* it be that hath command of the Thunderbolts, for shewing such cruelty towards his granchild, such envy towards the Author of so excellent and usefull a science. But truly these things are of such a condition that men who would bee thought Religious should neither relate them if they were not true, nor invent them if they were false. *Tragicke* and *Comicke* Poets are not more respectfull of your gods: in regard that usually, when making mention of them in their interludes they spare not to speake of their disorders. I will say nothing of your Philosophers. *Socrates* may suffice for all, who in derision to your false Gods, calls an Oak, a Buck, and a Dog, for witnesses of the oathes hee made. But *Socrates* say you was condemned, because hee undervallued, and consequently put a blurre upon the worship of your gods. I answer, truth hath beene in all times the object of the hatred of men. Yet the *Athenians* repented of the judgement they gave against him: they punished those that accused him, and placed in
their

their Temples his Statues made of the most precious of all their mettrals. Now seeing they revoked his condemnation, without doubt they gave Testimonies of his innocence, and approved the opinion hee had of the gods. But your *Diogenes* hath he not scoffed sufficiently at *Hercules*? and *Varræ* the Cynique of the Romans, bringeth he not in three hundred gods without a head under the name of *Jupiter*?

CHAP. XV.

ALL these Libertines who labour so much to delight you, draw their subject from dishonest action attributed to your gods. When you see them play the Bassoones with ridiculous conceits out of *Lentulus*, and *Hostilius*, tell me whether they be your jesters, or your gods that stir up laughter: there you heare an immodest *Anubis* spoken of, a masculine Moone, and a *Diana* that was whipt, there the will of a dead *Jupiter*, is recited there jests made of three hundred starved *Hercules*'s. Besides all this, Comedies Tragedies expresse all that is shamefull in the History of your gods. There with delight you may heare the Sun complain of the misfortune of his off-spring thrown down from Heaven. You may see there without blushing *Cybele* sighing for a Shepheard that undervalued her; there you suffer to be repeated in songs before you, all the Entomions wherewith *Jupiter* is extolled for

his lewd pranks, and how *Paris* decided the difference betweene *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*. But are they not certaine infamous persons that are disguised with the visages of your gods? Is it not some vicious fellow that appears on the Stage with a forced posture, and an effeminate voice to represent a *Minerva*, or *Hercules* unto you?

Tell me, if in approving these sacrilegious persons by the commendations and applaudings you give them, you violate not the Majesty of your gods, and prophane their Deities? But it may be whats repeated on the Amphitheatre hath more modesty and piety in it. It is there where your gods play their parts in the bloud of men, and horror of punishments. Their Histories serve for an argument to the subjects which the guilty present there; and very often also these poore people doe truly represent the personages of your gods, by the paines they indure. Wee have sometimes seen the secret parts of a miserable creature cut off for your god. *Athis* of the City of *Possena*; and sometimes he that wore the habit of *Hercules* lost his life for him in the flames. We have taken occasion to laugh, to see *Mercury* in the midst of the bloody Spectacles, of the combats of the Gladiators, which are acted at Noone, proving the dead bodies with his horrid iron rod, to try if they be still living. And *Pluto* conducts them with a hammer in his hand, to dispatch them, if not already dead.

If all these actions and many such like, which one might finde out, bee injurious to the honour of your gods,

gods, and throws all their Majesty to the ground, they must take it from the neglect which they have of their Deities, and of those that commit it, and are the cause thereof.

But suppose all this is but jesting: There are other things which your consciences cannot disavow, no more then that I have already said; you make bargains for Adulteries in the Temples: you corrupt the chastitie of women before the Altars: you fulfill your concupiscēces for the most part even in those houses which ordained for the Priests, and for the laying up of other holy things therein, having before your eyes the Pontificall habits, and the Incense still fuming with the fire of the Sacrifices. This being so, I know not why your gods doe not more complaine of you, then of Christians: Indeed, all that are found guiltie of sacrilege are of your Religion: for (as you know) Christians never enter, in the day time, into your Temples; it may be they would ransack them as well as you, if they offered sacrifices, as you doe.

But if you aske what Deity the Christians adore? I answer, it is not hard to conceive, that they who render no worship to false gods, honour the true, they will not fall any more into the errours from whence they are delivered, when as they have received the light of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and known the wickedness of Idolatry. Now I will begin to discover the mysteries of our Religion, yet it shall be after I have refuted the false opinions you have conceived of it.

CHAP. XVI.

Some among you have fancied the god we worship hath the shape of an Asse. It importeth that I discover the originall source of this fable: The reason that raised this suspicion of us, is in the fifth Booke of the History of *Cornelius Tacitus*, where making mention of the warre that *Titus* had with the Jewes under the Empire of *Vespasian*, he takes occasion to relate the History of this Nation, speaking as he thinks good, of its originall, name, and Religion; and reports that the Jewes comming out of *Aegypt*, where they were banished, as he believes, received great incommodities in passing the vast Desarts of *Arabia*, because they found no water, and as they were extreemly press'd with thirst, they were delivered by the rencounter which they had with a company of wild Asses, who shewed them the Fountains where they went to drink, lying not farre from their Pastures. And in acknowledgement of this benefit, they are reported to consecrate the image of one of these Asses that then succoured them in that extremity.

I thinke this tale makes it presumed that the Christians whose Religion is drawne from that of the Jewes, and hath succeeded it, worship the effigies of an asse. Yet the same Author, who saith hee lies not, writes neverthelesse that *Pompey* having taken

ken the City of Jerusalem, and entring into the Temple to see the mysteries of the Jewish Religion, saw there no image at all. It is likely, had they formed any image to the Deity adored by them, they had reposed it in the Sanctuary, where if suspected to bee thought Idolaters, they could not bee discovered by strangers, because none but their own high Priest permitted to enter in, a vaile also being drawn before it, to hinder all others from prying thereinto.

As for your selves its a thing you cannot deny you worship with ridiculous ceremonie, all beasts of burthen with their goddesse *Hyppone*. But peradventure it may not bee so well taken, that among so many worshippers of all sorts of creatures, we onely should be thought to adore nothing else but asses. I come therefore to those who are of opinion wee worship a crosse also, and do not they the same thing they believe of us when they consecrate their woodden images. It imports not though it bee another figure, so it bee of the same matter: though the forme bee not the same, so it be the body of a God.

What difference is there betweene the wood of the crosse, and an Athenian Pallace, or a *Pharien Ceres*, which are nothing but rough pieces of wood, unshapt, whereof the hand of the workman hath not formed an image? All images set upon their feet by you represent a part of the crosse; and do not we better then you when wee worship the whole Godhead in Christ without a Crosse? Moreover, those taken by you for gods have beene in the beginning cast, as we

said before in moulds made after the forme in some part or similitude of a crosse : besides you consecrate spoyle taken by you from your enemies : you rayse up Trophies in honour of victory : and those Trophies what are they within but onely trees made by you into crosses ? The Roman souldiers in their Religion which is all martiall , adore the ensignes of their Emperour, they sweare by their standard, and make Deities of them, which they prefer before the majesty of their other gods. Which Ensignes and standards of theirs, however richly set forth, however cover'd over with cloth of gold, perhaps, or tissue, and the like, are all for the most part represented to the eyes under the forme or figure of a Crosse. So that all the difference I finde between the Crosse we honour, and you, consists, it should seem, in the pompousness wherewith yours beyond ours is adorn'd. Wherein I applaud you for it , that you consecrate not bare crosses without all other manner of adorning them.

There are, that with more apparent reason believe, the Sun to be our god, these send us to the Religion of the *Persians* : But wee worship not the Image of the Sun, as these people doe, who in a foolish superstition carry it ordinarily painted on their Bucklers. Yet herein they suspect us for so doing, because hearing when we pray, wee turne our selves to the East : Is it not true , there are many among you that doe the same , when making Orisons to some other gods then those Images of yours represent, prostrate themselves to the Sun-rising, and in
that

that posture offer up their vows to Heaven? If celebrate the Sunday, which is the day of the Sun, as a Holiday, to rejoyce in it, so doing we worship not that great light of the world, but thereby rather solemnize this day which comes next after that of *Saturne*, to be distinguished from the Jewes, who owne Saturday for their Sabbath, and with respect thereunto spend the same in all manner of ease and idleness, swerving in so doing from the laudable custom of their Ancestors, long since extinguished with them.

The calumnies invented to cry down our Religion, arise to such excesse of impiety, that not long agoe in this City, a Picture of our God was shewed by a certain infamous person that got his living by exposing to the sight of the people, wilde beasts: who, by a strange faculty gotten by him to avoid their bitings, making use of his craft, shewed also the aforesaid Picture openly to all commers, with this inscription thereon, *This is Onochoetes the god of the Christians.*

This supposed god of the *Christians* pretended by him, had the ears of an asse, a hoof on one of his feet, carried a book, and was clothed with a gowne. We laugh at the barbarousness of this name, and the extravagancy of this figure. But they me thinks, should rather worship such a Monster as this for a god, who for the present adore with divine honour such like things: for example, an Image composed of two different formes at the same time, having the head of a Dog, and Lion, joyned together; hornes resembling those

those of an Oxe and Ramme, like a goat from the loines, a serpent from the thighs, with wings on his feet and backe. Of these things more then enough, that nothing remaines to bee confuted on our part, of what ever falsly alleadged by the Heathen against us, as also that you might not say or impure to mee I have used artifice in dissembling the things wherof I could not justifie the Christians. I come now to the expounding the mysteries of our Religion.

CHAP. XVII.

THe God whom we worship, is one only God, who created of nothing this great masse of the world, together with every thing wherof the Elements, bodies, and spirits therein are composed, and by the authority of his word, by the admirable order which his wisdom hath established, and the vertue of his infinite power, hath produced this excellent worke to bee a worthy image of his greatness: from whence it comes the Greekes have given him a name which signifies ornament. This God though dayly to be seene, is neverthelesse invisible; though graciously represented every where, incomprehensible; enough expos'd to humane sence, yet indiscernable. Because such a God, therefore is hee the true God. Ordinarily that which falls under the object of the sight, which may bee handled, which the mind can understand, is lesse then the eyes that
se

see it, the hands that touch it, the mind which mak^s it be known. Which things cannot be said of God whose infiniteness is onely indiscoverable save to himselfe. In regard whereof though not so well apprehended of men, yet is he neverthelesse not altogether unknowne to them. Somthing of him men conceive, when conceive him to be beyond the farthest reach of all human reasonings; his immensity at the same time discovering, when concealing. But heerein you mistake principally in that you will not know him at all, because you cannot know him perfectly, or you will not worship him because you will not know him, when at the instant you seem to avow as much, you cannot be wholly ignorant of him.

Well then, will you have us prove him by the infiniteness of his marvellous workes wherewith wee are encompassed, wherewith wee are preserved, wherewith we are delighted, wherewith we are terrified? Wil you have us convince you of your infidelity by the witness of your owne soule? you know in despite of the constraint shee suffers in the Prison of her body, in the midst of evill habits wherewith besieged, with respect to the disorders of vicious inclinations, and unchast desires impairing her vigor, in this misfortune of her condition, where she sees her selfe enslaved to false deities, when retire into her selfe, and takes up her spirits, as it falls out after shee comes from being crop-sick (as it were) out of sleep, or whatever distempers if retaining stil the use of reason, she thanks God. This inward motion that makes you call on God, doth it not shew you that there is but

one God to whom truly this high title belongs? Is it not true that you all say God is great, God is good? and when you speake of the good you receive from Heaven that God hath given, do you not also make this, God your judge, when you say God sees all things, recommending your selves to God, and desiring that hee will help you? in effect, these words which you have ordinarily in your mouth shew, that your souls are naturally carried to acknowledge a God, and consequently that you are Christians. Finally, he that speaks thus of God, lookes up to Heaven, and not to the Capitoll; for hee knows Heaven is the residence of the living God, as he knowes him to bee the Author of his life, and from thence to have descended.

CHAP. XVIII.

NOW as God is full of goodnesse, hee would leave a means, whereby men might acquire a full and intire knowledge of the truth of his being, his lawes, and his commandements. He hath given the Holy Scriptures to instruct those who will bee enlightened with the light of the true Religion, who desire to finde it when they seeke it, who have intentions to believe in the word of one God, after they have found him; and to serve him faithfully after they have received the same. Therefore he caused men to bee sent upon the earth from the beginning.

ning of times, who by holinesse of manners, and innocency of their lives, have rendred themselves capable of knowing and shewing his greatnesse to others. He hath abundantly shed upon them the graces of his divine spirit, that they might preach, there is but one God who created this Universe; who is the true *Prometheus* that tooke man from the earth, who hath ordained in the world the change of seasons, by which it subsists; who hath given tokens of the dreadfull rigor of his judgements by water, and fire, who hath published his Lawes wherein all hee would have men doe to please him are set downe, Lawes that you are ignorant of, or neglect; who hath ordained great recompences to those that keepe them, who, at the end of the world, will rayse all the dead, that ever lived from the Creation of the World, commanding them to reassume their bodies, to examine their good or evill actions, that thereupon gives to the faithfull a felicity that hath no end, and condemne Idolaters and such like, to eternal flames. We have heertofore been of your opinion, and then mockt at this doctrine, for men are not borne Christians; they embrace this Religion after they know it. Wee say then, those to whom God hath given this charge to preach, are called Prophets, because they publish the things which should come to passe: the oracles which they have declared, concerning the mysteries of that God which we worship, have been layd up in bookes, as in the publicke treasury, where they have been kept till now.

The most learned of the *Ptolomies*, who was surnamed *Philadelphus*, a most accomplished Prince in the knowledge of learning, would after the example of *Pisistratus* make a rich Library; among the excellent peeces which hee sought after, and had reputation, either because of their antiquity, or because they were rare and curious, by the advice of *Demetrius Phalerius*, (who was then the learnedst of all the Grammarians, and to whom he had given the keeping of all that great number of volumes hee had gathered together,) askt of the Jews the holy bookes which were written in their mother tongue, & which were not found any where else but in their hands: For the Prophets were alwayes of their nation, and they alwayes addressed their Prophecies to them, as to a people, who by the merit of their ancient Patriarks, had the happinesse to bee the beloved of God. Wee called them heeretofore Hebrews, whom you now call Jews, and therefore their language was called the Hebrew tongue. The Jews to make knowne to strangers the law of the true God, granted *Ptolemy* that which he desired of them, and sent him seventy two learned men to interpret those holy bookes. Will you have witnesses? the Philosopher *Menedemus* who was a powerfull Protector of the opinion of divine providence, admired at what recorded in them, and in that point was of the same opinion with them. *Aristeus* hath left a publicke monument of this history, in a booke hee composed in Greeke: These Hebrew volumes are found at this day in the liberary of *Ptolemy*, and the Jews read them openly,
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you may goe and heare them every Saturday in their Synagogues; they buy this liberty with a great tribute which they annually pay.

He that heares the truths they declare, shall meet with the truth of one onely God; and whosoever will study to comhrehend the mysteries contained in the Holy Scriptures, will bee presently forced to believe them.

CHAP. XIX.

THese holy Writings take their principall authority from their antiquity. You are wont to make use of this prooffe, and will have it to be lawfull in upholding your Idolatry, you ground the reverence you carry to your gods, on long continuance of years, but wee have more reason to make use of it then you; for the books of one of our Prophets onely, to wit, *Moses*, (wherein, it seemes, God hath inclosed, as in a treasure, all the Religion of the Jewes, and consequently all the Christian Religion, preceding for many ages together) reacheth beyond the ancientest you have, even all your publick Monuments, the antiquity of your originals, the establishment of your estate, the birth of most part of the people, the foundation of many great Cities, all that most advanced by you in all ages of History, and memory of times, the invention of Characters, which are interpreters of Sciences, and the Guardians of all

excellent things : I thinke wee may say more, even your gods, Temples, Oracles, and Sacrifices.

Have you heard mention made of that great Prophet *Moses* ? He was contemporary with *Inachus*, he preceded *Danaus* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years, the ancientest of all that have a name in your Histories : He lived about a thousand years before the ruine of the City of *Troy* ; I could also say, fifteen hundred and more before *Homer* : for it is not without ground , neither will I relate it , but as others have reported it before me . Every of the other Prophets succeeded *Moses* , and yet the last of them all, is of the same age as your first Wise-men, Law-givers, and Historians were.

The proof of these things are not so difficult, as it would be troublesome , so hard as long to make apparent : wee must examine a great number of Volumes, and Papers, put our selves to calculate the sequell of times ; open the Records of the ancientest of all people , namely, of *Aegyptians*, *Caldeans*, and *Phœnicians* : make use of the testimonies of their Writers, who have left to posterity the knowledge of things past ; of *Manethon* an *Aegyptian*, *Berosus* a *Chaldean*, *Hierome* a *Phœnician* King of *Tire* , and of them that followed after, *Menedesius* a *Ptolomean*, *Menander* an *Ephesian*, *Demetrius* a *Phalerian*, King *Juba*, *Appion*, *Thallus*, and *Josephus*, the genuine and true Author of the antiquity of the Jews, whose Writings either approve that which others have said, or make known their errours.

Wee must examine the publick Registers of the
Geeks,

Greeks, see what actions they report, consider when such actions done, that the order of times may appear, and cleare the Histories of the past ages, in reducing them according to the sequell of years; in conclusion, we must turne over the leaves and Notes of all the earth.

But me thinks I have already made half the proof, in shewing from whence it ought to be taken. Certainly it is better to defer the spinning out this point any further, for feare that touching it in hast, I say not all that the importance thereof requires, or that in resting here, I stay too long from the principle meanes of our Defence.

CHAP. XX.

IF defer to shew the antiquity of holy Scriptures, I will shew you at present something more important in lieu thereof: for I discover to you their Majesty, I tell you, they are divine, if you doubt still they are ancient. There's no need of any long discussion to let you know it, neither will we go to seek the proof without us. The World the History of all ages, & the event of things do furnish us; all don in our dayes was foretold heretofore; what our Fathers heard spoken of arrived not till after them; the Prophets whom the providence of God instructed touching the time to come, have foreseen & left in writing that which passed every moment to the view of men; they

they have knowne what wee see, that Earthquakes swallow up great Cities; that the Sea covers Islands, and takes them from our sight; that the people are afflicted with strange, and intestine warres; that one kingdome destroyes another; that famine and the Plague, cause mortallities; that every countrey hath its perticular calamities; that wild beasts inhabiting the mountaines, doe hurt in the plaines; that the little become great, and contrarily, that the lofty by a miserable change fall into a low fortune; that there is little justice among men, and very much iniquity; that the thought of all good things is lost; that the functions of the seasons and elements are in disorder; that the order of nature is troubled by Monsters, and prodigies, all these misfortunes are found in our bookes, whilst wee endure, and try them, our judgement obliegeth us to believe those who have foretold them: I thinke the accomplishment of a prophecy is a good testimony of its holinesse, and one may conclude it is divine, when find it true.

Now as we believe things that have been prophesied, and are come to passe, so we believe things that have been told us, & not as yet come to passe; because they have been al foretold us by the same Scriptures, as wel those that are verifi'd every day as those whose successe is stil expected; they are the same words which wee heare, the same letters that instruct us, it is the same spirit which hath inspired the Prophets both the one, and the other. Hee that by the grace of God, hath the gift of penetrating into the
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me to come, discovers in an instant all future things: men which have not this light, distinguish the times by the events, and seperate the time to come, from the present, and the present from the past. Tell mee I pray, if we commit any fault, when we believe that which should come, seeing the present and the past are two degrees; by which we learne, that we ought to believe that which is foretold, although we doe not as yet see the success?

CHAP. XXI.

I Have told you our Religion is grounded on very ancient monuments; that is to say, on the Books of the Religion of the Jews: yet because there are many among you know it to be much newer then this, & that it began under the Empire of *Tiberius*, & we acknowledge it our selves. It imports that I explain my selfe more particularly on this subject, that wee may not be accused of covering our owne opinions under the vaile of a most famous Religion, and whereof the publick exercise is permitted. We must take away the scruple that may arise, not onely in that we are distinguished from the Jews by the times, and novelty of our institution, but also for that there is a difference betweene their ceremonies and ours, that wee forbid not as they doe the use of certaine meats, nor solemnize their feasts, nor use circumcision, and in the end, carry not the same name: which

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are arguments you hold infallible, to prove you doe not serve one God.

But that which helps to confirm you in the opinions you have of us, is, that you all know, even unto the meanest of the people, that Jesus Christ was Man, that as so hee was condemned by the Jewes, which carries you easily to this perswasion, that we worship a Man, and not the God of the Jewes. But the behaviour this ungratefull people have used to our Master, doth not make us ashamed; contrarily it is a glory to us to passe for his children, and to bee persecuted for his name, and the honour we beare to him derogateth not from that wee owe to God, neither have wee any other opinion of the Godhead then the Jewes.

I am therefore obliged to speake a few things of Jesus Christ, and to shew hee is the true God. The Jewish Nation of all others had the happines to be the onely beloved people of God. They received this favour because of the wonderfull piety, and inviolable faith of their ancient Patriarks, and therefore was their race still raised to that admirable greatness, their condition came to a power that made it so flourishing, and their felicity so perfect, that God communicated himselfe to them, and with his own mouth taught them to honour him alwayes, and not to offend him. But they had too much confidence in the merit of their Ancestors; that which should have tied them straitly to the service of the Divine Majesty, made them forget their duty: they sinned against God, and by a strange blindness, neglected

lected his Commandments, and changed his Lawes into a prophane worship. If the Jewes will not confess their crimes, the condition they are now in, will be a sufficient prooffe thereof. They are spread over all the Universe, they wander from all parts, are banished from their Countrey, cannot enjoy the aire they breathed at their birth; and run over all the world, without having either man, or God for their King; in conclusion, their condition is so miserable, that it is not permitted them to set so much as their foot, or cast their eyes on their naturall Countrey, or to passe thither as strangers. The holy Scriptures that threatned them with these evils, are full of Prophecies, that foretold them that in the last times God would chuse servants faithfuller then they, whom hee would take to himselfe in all Nations, and Countreys of the World; and on whom he would powre graces much perfecter, then those they had received, proportioned to the merit of the Messiah, which should come to publish the Law which he would give them.

Therefore the Messiah which God had ordained to send on the earth, to change the Law of the Jewes, to discover the truth of these figures, and to accomplish the Prophecies; this just Dispensator of Divine graces, this excellent Master of this heavenly Doctrine, the true light that inlightens, and Doctor that teacheth men, and to say all, this Son of God was promised us. But do not think this Son is ashamed of his birth; hee hath beene begotten, but know, that neither the seed of his Father, nor the name of Son,

which he beares makes him ashamed: His generation is not defiled with the incest of Brother, or Sister, neither of a gods unchast imbraces with a Maid or married woman: His Father not a god disguised under the forme of a Serpent, Bull, Bird, or golden showre, as of your feigned god *Jupiter* it is reported.

Besides, the Son of God whom wee worship, it's true hath a Mother; but nor a Mother defiled with the least impurity, she to whom the birth of this Son hath given the name of Mother, being still a Virgin without carnall knowledge of any man. But to make you comprehend how the Son of God is born, I must discover to you what his substance is. I have already declared, that God created the Universe by the power of his word, the operation of his wisdom, and the vertue of his power.

The ancient Wise-men also were of this opinion, that the word and wisdom, which they named of one onely word $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, that is to say, the word, did make the World. *Zenon* saith, this word is the Authour of that order, and admirable disposition we see in nature; also that the same that is called Destiny is God, the mind of *Jupiter*, and necessary of all things. *Cleanthes* makes a spirit that goes into all the parts of this Universe. As for us, as wee say God hath made all things by his word, wisdom, and vertue, wee attribute to the word, wisdom, and vertue of God, a Spirit that is their proper substance, and which is the word to command, the wisdom to dispose, and the vertue to give perfection to his works.

workes. Wee have learnt that God hath produced this spirit which we call the word, that God in producing it hath begot it, and therefore it is the Sonne of God, and also God in regard the substance of God and his owne Son, are but one selfe same substance, because God is also a Spirit; it is even as of a beame comming from the body of the Sun, this Planet in producing the same, gives it a portion of its light, which notwithstanding it cannot lose; for it is alwayes in its beame, because the beame is alwayes a beame of the Sun; the substance of the light is not separated, but spreads forth. So in the internall generation of the word, the spirit derives from the spirit, and God derives from God, as the light of a Candle is taken from another Candle which hath communicated to it its light: the light remains all intire in the Candle from whence it is taken, and suffers not any diminution, although men borrow the quality to distribute it to many Candles.

It is even so of God, that which comes from him is God, the Son of God, and both together, God, and his Sonne, are one and the selfe same God. From whence it follows that this distinction of spirit to spirit, of God to God, is not in the substance, but person, makes not a division in God, but only a distribution of the qualities of Father and Son; not a diversity of conditions between Father and Son, but onely an order of God the Father to God the Son: and finally that God the Son springeth, and is not separated from the substance of God: wherefore the beame of God being come downe into the body of a Virgin, and in-

carnat in her womb, is come likewise into the world Man and God together. This marvellous compofure of mortal flesh, & the spirit of God, hath been nourished, brought up, grown in years, spoken, taught, & wrought, & is this Man Jesus Christ. Take if you wil, this truth for a fable, you may receive it in the mean time, till we bring further proofs of our Master, as wee receive many tales made touching those gods you confesse. This wonder was knowne to them of whom you hold all the follies you believe of a Deity.

They have invented them by a sacrilegious emulation, to destroy the eternall truth of a God-man, in exposing to them the lies which have some relation with them. If then you will have witnesses of the incarnation of the Son of God, we tell you the Jews knew it from the mouths of the Prophets, that hee was to be borne among men, and they expect him still, and the greatest difference between them and us, is, that they doe not believe he is already come. The holy Scriptures make mention of two commings of the Son of God: the first, when he appeared in the weakness of humane nature, and condition of a very low humility. The second, which to bring with it the end of all times, and wherein he will shew himselfe with all the splendor of his God-head. The Jewes have not heard of the first, and they hope for the second, which hath been so clearly declared, perswading themselves that the Son of God should come this onely time on the earth: Their sins are the

the just cause of their blindness, they have deserved by their crimes committed against God, not to understand this first coming; yet without doubt, they would have believed this glorious Mystery, if they had understood it, and if they would have believed it, he had acquired for them eternall salvation.

This punishment was foretold them, and they may read in the holy Scripture, that God hath threatned, they should not know his secrets, that their understanding should not comprehend them; that they should have eyes, and not see his light, eares, and not heare his word. Now, as they could not imagine him whom they saw in this low humility, to be a God, so they took him only for a man; whom when reflecting upon them the effects of his power, they gave out, that he used Magick, and by the helpe thereof cast Divels out the bodies of men, restored sight to the blinde; cleansed the Lepers; healed them that were sicke of the Palsey; raised the dead; made the Elements obey him; appeased Tempests; went upon the waters; all actions by which hee shewed himselfe to be the ancient Word, the first born, accomplished with vertue and wisdom, as also informed with the spirit of God himselfe.

The Doctors of the Law, and the greatest among the Jewes, who saw when he preached, that he confounded their errours, and that an infinite multitude of people followed him, were so incensed against him, that, in conclusion, they accused him before *Pontius Pilat*, the then Governour of *Judea*, under the
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authoritie of the Emperour *Tiberius* ; and by violating justice , forced him to deliver them Jesus to bee nailed on the Crosse. Hee foretold they should thus unworthily use him ; but, it may be, 'twould not be enough if the Prophets had not declared it a long time before : yet Jesus being on the crosse gave many signes, by which he shewed hee was truly the Son of God ; for after making that great exclamation, when a dying, he rendered, of his own accord, his spirit to God his Father preventing thereby the Execurioners, accustomed to breake the thighs of those that were crucified, to hasten the end of their lives, and deliver them from the pains of a longer punishment.

Moreover, in that very moment wherein Jesus expired, which was at noone, the Sun lost his light, and the Earth was covered with darkness ; even they who knew not this prodigy should happen at his death , and that revealed before to the Prophets did take it for a miracle , and because unwilling to discover the reason thereof, they denied it that came to pass: But you cannot make this wonder suspected, seeing your owne Calenders have remarked it, and your selves retaine the testimonies thereof in your owne registers.

The Jews having took Jesus from the Crosse, and put him into the sepulchre , encompass'd it with a great number of Souldiers, to whom they gave charge to keep him carefully : This suspicious people, feared his Disciples should come and take away his body, and having committed this theft, perswade them hee was risen , because hee had said, that in
three

three dayes hee would rise from the grave, and triumph over death.

But the third day being come, the earth shooke on a sudden, the stone that shut the mouth of the Sepulchre was overturned, the Souldiers astonished, and troubled with fear, and not one of his Disciples durst appeare, that they might be accused of taking away his body, which not being found, there remained nothing in the grave, but the linnen wherewith he was wrapt. Yet notwithstanding the High Priests divulged this bruit, that the body of Jesus was taken away by his Disciples. They had reason to publish this false theft, that they might turne away the people from embracing this Doctrinae, otherwise themselves should lose the authority they had over the People, and the profits they drew from them, if they had knowne that hee whom they had crucified was truly the son of God.

Their mindes being thus abused by the ambition and avarice of the Priests, they remained in the darknesse of error; for Jesus Christ shewed himselfe not to the People, because hee would not doe this favour to the wicked, to make them become faithfull, in presenting before their eyes his glorious body, and it must be that the faith that promis'd such great recompences, should bee wrapt up with some difficulties.

After his resurrection he stayer with some of his Disciples forty dayes in Galile, one of the Provinces in Judea, where hee taught them what they should preach to men; and having given them to declare his Doctrinae throughout all the Earth, a cloud invi-

roned him, wherewith received up to Heaven, a truth far more certain then any humane testimonies, given of your *Proculus* touching his seeing a *Romulus*, or other of your *Princes* mounting up into the same place.

Pilate, who in his heart believed in Jesus Christ, at the same time wrote all this History to the Emperour *Tiberius*, whereupon the *Cesars* themselves had worshipped our Master, if their government in so doing had been consistent with the men of this world, and Christians permitted to have beene saluted *Cæsars*. The Disciples of Jesus, following the order hee had given them, went over all parts of the knowne world to publish the Law of the Gospel: But the Jewes, their declared Enemies, made them indure many punishments, which they suffered generously, because they knew they were hated only for preaching the truth. In the end, these Infidels taking advantage of the cruelty of *Nero*, caused the blood of the Christians inhumanly to be shed.

But remember when wee told you of the gods you worship, we said we would produce them as fit witnesses of the Godhead of Jesus Christ. Is it not strange we should imploy them whom you withhold from being Christians, to make you believe the Doctrine of Christians? yet you shall see by and by, that your gods beare witness, in favour of our Religion, against your Idolatry. This wee shall tell you, when come to declare to you, wherein consists all the mystery of our institution; then you shall know both the originall of our Religion, the name, and the

the Author thereof. Let none therefore object to us any more these crimes so full of infamy; let no ne any more conceive these strange opinions of our lives, you must needs believe what wee declare to you touching the worship we render to God.

Religion is a sacred thing, where it is not permitted to feigne, and where lies are counted sacrilegious. Every man that saith he worships other God then whom he pretends truly to worship, is an Infidell to his God, and takes from him the honour hee should render him to transfer the same to another; and in transferring it, acknowledgeth not his Godhead any longer, because hee violates it in denying him. We say openly we are Christians, we avow it publickly, yea even in the midst of tortures, the which you make use of to make us deny it. When we are torne in pieces and covered with our blood, we cry out, as far as our voices will extend, wee worship God in Jesus Christ, believe if you will Jesus Christ to be man onely. It is by him, and in him nevertheless that God will bee known and honoured. So to the end wee may answer the Jewes, Have not they learn'd to worship God on earth by *Moses*, a man whom God sent to teach them to serve him, and that he made use of *Moses* as a man, to publish his Law? as for the Greeks, were not they men that instructed them in their superstitions? to wit, *Orpheus* on the mountain of *Pierius*, *Museus* at *Athens*, *Melampus* at *Argos*, and *Trophonius* in *Beotia*. Then if I should cast mine eyes upon you, who are the Masters of all the world, do I not finde it was a man, a *Numa Pompilius*,

that put upon you a Religion so full of ridiculous mysteries, and troublesome ceremonies? Why should it not be permitted Jesus Christ also to declare his Divinity, he to whom only the Divinity appertained, and to make himselfe acknowledged for the God of Heaven and Earth? He ought not to be suspected for an Impostor as others, for hee was not like to a *Numa*, who would not soften the wilde spirits of these savage people, and barbarous, in filling them with astonishment by the infinite number of gods which made them afraid. Hee address'd himself to men polliht & perfectly knowing in the prudence of the world, and yet withall their wisdom, were blinde as concerning Heaven. He came to enlighten, and discover to them the truth they knew not. Informe your selves whether the God-head of Jesus Christ be the true God-head we ought to worship. Whether it change their manners that believe it, and makes them become better then they were, all the other Deities must bee condemned as false, and principally that which is under the names and Images of dead men, by the artifice of certaine supposed signes, of the miracles they counterfet, and the deceitfull Oracles they render, passe for a true Divinity, although it is knowne that all it doth is but the worke of Divels.

CHAP. XXII.

WE say then, that there is in Nature certain spiritual substances, to whom the name of Divels is given. This name is not new, the Philosopher had the knowledge of it, and *Socrates* did nothing without the permission of his *Dæmon*. So they say, that from his infancy this *Dæmon* was alwayes by him, and abandoned him not so long as he lived. *Certes* this spirit was not proper but to turne him away from the love of good things. The Poets also knew what the Divels were; and the ignorant common people, have them in their mouths when they would pronounce a malediction. It is by an inward morion of the soule, that in those imprecations in calling the evill spirits, in effect they call Satan, who is the Prince of this cursed Company. *Plato* did also acknowledge the nature of the Angels: and the Magicians who in their enchantments make use of the names of Angels, and Divels, to bee testimonies of their being. One may learn from the holy Scriptures how by the sin of certain Angels, who frō the irregularity of their own wil suffered their innocence to bee corrupted, came the race of the Divels, a race much more corrupted then these evill Angels from whence they draw their originall, and that God hath condemned with them, and their Printe, those of whom we come from spea-

king of. Wherefore it sufficeth that wee now treat of the point that concerneth the operations of these spirits.

They worke on men but to destroy them; the malice of the Divels from the beginning of times was imployed in doing evill. Thus they afflict bodies with diseases, and make them fall into troublesome accidents; they stir up in mens mindes violent troubles, and sudden motions, which move them extraordinarily. Their simple and subtile nature gives them the faculty of laying hold of the two substances that compose man.

The power with which these spirits operate is admirable, one may very well know their action; but the manner of their operation falls not under the object of the sight, neither can bee perceived by the organ of the senses. As when there happens any secret irregularity in the aire, the distemper thereof makes the fruit to be lost in the blossome, takes away its life when it begins to put forth, and nips them at the very time of their maturity: even as when the aire is infected by some sudden cause, it spreads the plague upon the earth among the vapours that the Sun had drawn up; in the same manner, and with a contagion as unperceivable, the Divels and evill Angels by their blast cast disorders into mindes, agitate them with divers furies, give them thoughts of folly and filthiness, make them capable of more violent passions, and slide therein an infinite number of errors. Of these errors this is the principall, that, after they have abused, & wrapt them up into a thousand

and illusions; they recommend them to the worshipping of these false gods, and oblige them to offer sacrifices to their Idols, that they may be fed with the odour of the sacrifices, and the blood of these beasts which is their most agreeable nourishment. For what nourishment do they taste with more pleasure than the Idolatry of man, when by the wiles of their false jugglings, they seduce them, and turne aside their thoughts from the object of the true God? I will now discover by what way they deceive them.

Every Spirit hath the same nimbleness as a bird, and because the Angels and Divels are spirits, they are every where in a moment. All the world is but one place to them, it is all one with them to know what is done in every coast of the world, as to say it. This promptitude with which they know all things, makes them pass for gods, because their substance is not knowne.

So they will often appear to bee Authours of that which they declare; & in effect they are sometimes of evill, but never of good. Besides, they learnt heretofore from the mouthes of the Prophets the things which eternall providence hath determined; and now they take them from the holy Scriptures: it is from thence they draw the conjectures by which they judge of the times to come.

They observe the changes that have happened in the sequell of times, and they strive to appeare like to a Deitie, by the thefts they make of these predictions wherewith they abuse the world. They work
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upon all with a wonderfull cunning to expresse the oracles they render, by terms full of ambiguity, that they may accommodate themselves to the events. *Craesus* and *Pyrrhus* could tell much newes. It was by the means we before spoke of, *Apollo* declared, that *Craesus* had boiled his Tortoise with the flesh of a Lamb; hee had learnt it in *Lydia*, where he was in an instant. Moreover the Divels who have their residence in the aire, by their neighbourhood with the starres, and the nearenesse of the clouds may know the disposition of the Heavens.

They promise men raine which is ready to fall, and which they feele when they promise it. Truly wee must avow they are very helpfull in the cure of diseases; for they are they that doe the evill, and afterwards ordaine the remedies, but they are remedies wonderfull new, and contrary to the evill: after one hath made use of their receipts, they cease to afflict the body, and then wee thinke they have cured it.

What shall I say more concerning the trickes of these deceitfull spirits, and their admirable effects? of the spirits of *Castor* and *Pollux*, who brought to *Rome* the news of the victory obtained on King *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, presently after it was won? of that *Vestall* that retained water in a sieve? of another that made a great ship saile which she drew onely with her girdle? of that *Domitius* to whom the spirits of *Castor* and *Pollux*, by their onely touch, changed the colour of his beard, and of black made it become red, that he might have some marke to make him believe

believe it, when declaring to him this victory already obtained by the Romans? All these things which are the workes of the Devill have authoris'd Idolatry, perswaded men that stones were true deities, and hindred them to seeke the true God; this high and incomprehensible majesty to whom onely worship is due.

CHAP. XXIII

BUt seeing Magicians have power to make spirits appear to men; seeing they recall the souls of the dead, whom they cover with infamy by their witchcrafts; that by the force of their enchantments, Children are made use of in their charmes to throw themselves on the ground, and afterwards rise up againe to declare Oracles; that by the delusions, wherewith they deceive the eyes and eares, they represent a great number of miracles; that they infuse dreams into us when asleepe, and worke all these things when once by the vertue of their invocations they have obtained the help of evill Angels and Devills, who make their goats, and tables prophesie: When this power worketh of one accord, and for it onely; with how much more affection doth it imploy all its forces to effect what it produceth, when there is no question of any interest but of that which is a stranger to it? If the Angels and Devils do the same things as your gods,

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where is the excellencie of the deity, wee must imagine to bee above all other powers? is it not more seemely to presume that they are they that make themselves to bee acknowledged for gods; seeing their actions are like to them they take for actions of the gods, then to believe the power of the gods is not greater then that of Angels and Devils? but it may bee your gods are gods but in the temples, it is the place that gives them the title, and that out of temples, you do not acknowledge them for gods; that in your opinion, it is another kind of fury to leape over consecrated towers to a deity, then to precipitate ones selfe from a prophane house, that it is another sort of rage to cut off ones privy parts, and armes, then to cut ones throat; in truth the despaire both of the one and the other meet both in one, as it is but one cause that transports them. But hitherto we have made use of nothing but wordes, now wee must make use of the things themselves, and demonstrations, to shew you that your gods and divels are but one substance, and that they differ but in name.

If a man should bring before your Tribunalls, one that were truely possessed of a Divell, if a Christian should comand him to speake, this wicked spirit wil confess then that he is a Devill, with as much truth as he saith falsely at another time he is a God. Let them present any one of these they believe to be wrought upon within by a deity; that in the ceremony of the sacrifices they offer on the Altars, have the vertue of a God in sending the smell which goes out of the sacrifices; who with force belch out words out of their stomacks; within breathing declare

clare oracles; if this heavenly virgin who promisseth raine; if this *Æsculapius* that teacheth the secrets of Physicke, that preserves the lives of them who must lose the same soone after, confesse not by the mouths of these impostors, whose fained inspirations deceive the world, that they are but devills, if the presence of a Christian takes not from them the boldnesse of lying, wee are willing that in the same place you shed the blood of this Christian, and punish him as a wicked person. What demonstration is clearer then this? what prooffe more infallible? truth shines there in its purity, it is assisted with this force, that is not proper but for her selfe; there is nothing heere to bee evill thought on. Say then it is done by the power of Magick, or by some such like tricke, if your eyes or eares will let you. But I pray what can you say against a thing that shews it selfe so cleare and without artifice? if these spirits are gods indeed, why do they falsely say they are devills? is it to obey us they do so? on this account the deity receives law from the Christians, but they should not honour with this title, a nature that is under the government of man: I might add, that is subiect to the power of his enemies, if it causeth shame.

If on the other side these spirits are Divels, or Angels, how comes it when they speake to others then to us, they would passe for gods? for as those to whom divine honour is rendred wou'd not be avowed Divels, if in truth they were gods; because gods cannot take the qualitie of Divels without putting off their majesty; so, if the names they give

themselves whom you acknowledge to bee Divels, were the names of true gods, they could not bee so rash as to take, and to put them in the rank of a Deitie; because these gods would without doubt bee their Soveraignes, and they would feare to offend the majestie of them whose power they should dread.

Acknowledge then that the Deitie you honour is not a Deitie, because, if it were, the Divels would not attribute it to themselves, and the gods would not disavow it. So seeing both the one and the other concur in acknowledging this truth, that those the world acknowledge for gods are none, you must confess then they are Divels; and therefore you must resolve to seek Deities somewhere else, seeing you now see what is the condition of them you take for gods.

Now seeing by our meanes your gods discover to you they are no gods, and that all the other to whom men erect Altars, are none in like manner; but this at the same time they make you know who the true God is, if it be this only God that we that are Christians worship, if we must believe of him what the Christians believe, if hee must bee served as their Lawes ordaine. When you conjure your gods in the name of Jesus Christ, doe they aske who is that Jesus Christ? doe they call the History of his life a Fable? doe they say hee is a man of the same condition as other men? that hee was a Magician? that, after dead, his Disciples tooke away his body privately from the Sepulchre? and

and that he is now in Hell? say they not rather hee is in Heaven? that hee must discend to the terrour of all the world? with horreur to the Universe? with the lamentation of all men but Christians? and that hee shall come downe on the earth full of Majestie, as the vertue of God, the spirit of God, the Word, Wisdome, Reason, and Son of God? your gods must doe as you doe, deride all these things, denie all the souls that liv'd since the Creation of the world should take their bodies againe; that Jesus Christ must judge them, they should say it belongs to *Radamanthus* and *Minos*, according to the opinion of *Plato*, and the Poets; at least they should discharge themselves of the shame of this sin, and infamy of their condemnation, not avowing they are spirits of corruption, although it sufficiently enough appears by the condition of their meats they feed on, the bloud, smoake, stinking sacrifices of beasts, and impure tongues of their Divines that they are so; and in the end not confess they are already condemned to the pains of Hell, expecting the universall judgement, where they shall receive the just recompence of their wickedness, with all them that have sinned as they, and worshipped them. Now all the power we have of them, is the name of Jesus Christ who gives it us, it is the threatning we give them of the evils God is readie to powre on their heads, and which one day Jesus Christ must declare to them. As they leare Jesus Christ in God, and God in Jesus Christ, they are under the government of the servants of God, and of Jesus Christ: so by the onely touch

of our hands, and breath of our mouths; the Devil seized with feare at the sight of the flames that environ them are forced to obey us, to come out of the bodies they possess, in despite of them, and with murmuring, to suffer this shame in our presence. You that are wont to believe them when they lie, believe them when they speake of themselves. No body will tell a lie to get shame by it, but rather to gaine honour; one will sooner beleve them that confesse against their owne interest, then those that denie to their advantage. These Testimonies which we have of your Gods make men to bee Christians; for wee cannot give a full beleefe to what they say, without believing in Jesus Christ our master. Your gods kindle in our hearts the faith which the Holy Scripture teacheth us; they strengthen our hope, and confirme us in the assurance wee have of our salvation. As for you, to honour them, you offer them also the blood of Christians; and if it were permitted then to lie when Christians interrogate them, and labour to make you know the truth by their confession, they would take good heed of discovering your errours to you, as well for keeping the profit they have of them, and the honors you render them, as for the feare they might have that in becomming your selves Christians, you drive them away as wee doe from the bodys they torment with so much rage.

CHAP. XXIV.

WEE need nothing but the acknowledgment wee have from your gods, when wee make them confesse they are no gods, and when they answer us there is no other God, then the onely God we serve, to purge us from the crime of high treason, and impiety to the Roman Religion. For if in truth the Gods they worship are no gods, in truth their Religion is no Religion; if their Religion bee no Religion, then those they acknowledge for gods, are none, it follows wee are not guilty of the crime of impiety. On the contrary wee can maintaine, that this reproach reflects on you, that, because so long as you honour a lye, you neglect not onely the true Religion of the true God, but moreover oppose God; and by this meanes truly fall into the crime of true impiety.

If we should agree your gods are true gods, would you not confesse, according to common opinion, that there is a God greater and stronger then they, who is as the principall and author of the Universe, and accomplished with power, and an infinite majesty? for many have this opinion of the Deity; that to one onely God belongs Sovereigne power, and that hee commits the exercise of his functions to all the other Gods: what is that Plato would have presented

presented, when hee writ, that great *Jupiter* is in Heaven accompanied with an army of Gods and Divels. You may say, we must honour the officers and Livetenants of a Prince, even as the Prince whose majesty they represent. But I demand of you, what crime commits hee who regards none but the Prince, hopes not but in his favour, and will please none but him? what outrage commits he against the Godhead that gives not the name of God but to the Prince of Heaven? seeing in the world they give the name of Emperour but to the Sovereigne, and that it is a Capitall crime, by humane lawes, to call, or suffer to bee called with this title any other, then the master of the State? But let one worship God, another, *Jupiter*, let one in saying his prayers lift up his hands to Heaven, another put them on the Altar of faith; let one, if you will, number the clouds, another the feelings; one vow his soule to his God, another offer him that of a goat. But you ought to take heed that this bee not a kinde of impiety, to take from men the liberty of serving God after their owne manner, to hinder them from making choice of a deity, and force them so in that which should depend upon the will, that it should not bee permitted them to worship the God they would, and bee forced to worship him they would not.

Know wee not very well that neither the gods, nor men, demand any thing but voluntary services: and this is the reason they suffer the vaine superstitions
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of the Egyptians, who by a strange blindness consecrate Birds and Beasts, and condemne to death them that have killed one of these gods. Moreover every province, and citie hath his particular God, *Syria* the God *Astartes*; *Arabia* the God *Disares*; *Bavaria*, *Belemus*; *Africa* the goddess *Celestis*; *Mauritania* their Kings.

The provinces I have named, me thinkes, are subject to the Roman Empire, and yet I have not named among the Gods that are there worshipped any of the gods of the Romans; in effect the gods that are honoured in these countries, are as little known at Rome, as those that are worshipt in the Cities of Italy, as the God *Belventinus* of *Monte-rotondo*, *Vistidianus* of *Narni*, the Goddess *Ancaria* of *Ascoli*, *Nursia* of *Vulsina*, *Valentia* of *Ocricoli*, *Nortia* of *Sutry*, and *Juno* of *Monte-fiasconi*, who is cald upon there, because there she was born, and to whom the inhabitants of the place gave it the name of her father. There are none but we to whom it is forbid to have a Religion a part.

Wee offend the Romans, because not serve the God of the Romans, and are unworthy the names of Romans. But we have this advantage, that God is the God of all men, and that we are all his, whether we will or no. As for you, it is permitted you to worship all sorts of gods, excepting the true God; as if the same were not by way of eminence, the God of us all, seeing we all are his.

CHAP. XXV.

IN my opinion I have sufficiently proved, what the false, and what the true Divinity is, seeing I have drawne my proofs, not onely from Arguments which reasoning produceth, but also from the sole testimony of those you acknowledge to be gods; so that I have largely given satisfaction (as I think) in this point. But because in this place, an occasion is presented to speake of the name *Romans*, I will not avoid the combat that some oblige me to undertake, against the opinion that hath seized on their mindes, and makes them say, the *Romans* obtained the Empire of all the world, and this greatness whereto wee see them arrived, by their pietie, and deserved to bee Masters of all the Nations of the Earth, by the reverence carried by them to the mysteries of the religion of the gods, the gods having rendred them flourishing beyond all other honours, because the Romans surpass all other in devotion.

There is some likelihood the *Romans* received this Recompence from the originall gods of *Rome*, in acknowledgement of the honours the *Romans* rendred unto those gods; for example, the gods *Sterculus*, *Mutunus*, and *Larentina*, who enlarged the bounds of their domination. For I doe not thinke the other gods had more inclination to a strange Nation, then to their owne Countrey, or that they would have
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subjected to a people so far remote from their Countrey, the Land where they were borne, where their youth brought up, where they acquired so much honour in their life time, or where finally after their death they had buriall given to their bodies. *Cybele* will not disavow the affection she bore to the City of *Rome* to be produced from that she carried to *Æneas*, because hee was of her Countrey; shee defended him against the Armies of the Greeks, and loves the City where she still sees the bloud of Trojans, and progeny of that Prince. Without doubt, when resolved to favour the Romans, shee foresaw they would revenge it, and put Greece in servitude, which had ruined the Empire of Troy.

Certainly, shee hath caused it to bee seene in our time, that it was with a great deale of reason the City of *Rome* delayed to give unto him Divine honours; for *Marcus Aurelius* having ended his dayes at *Sirmion*, the seventeenth of March, the chiefeest Priest of that goddesse, this venerable chiefe of the Eynuches, the foure and twentieth of the same Month of March, with the horreur and impurity of the bloud he spilt, and which came from the wounds hee made in his body, rendred his vowes, as hee was wont, for the preservation of this Prince after he was dead. O sleepe Courtiers! O tedious dispatchers, whose tarrying the cause that *Cybele* was not acquainted sooner with the Emperours death! truly Christians could not choose but make derision at such a goddesse. But had it beene in the power

of Jupiter to dispose (as he thought good) of the Empire of the world, would he have suffered the power of the Romans to put his Isle of Crete in subjection? Would you think, the remembrance of the cave of Mount *Ida*, with the noise the *Corybantes* made, in beating on their head attires, and playing on their cymballs to hinder those childish cries from discovering him: again, the acceptable smell of the breath of his nurse, should not oblige him rather to oppose himselfe against this conquest? would hee not have preferred the place of his buriall before all the greatnesse of the Capitol? would hee not rather have enclined to have raysed up above all the countries of the earth, that which enclosed his ashes? would *Juno* have taken it well that Carthage, which she preferred before *Samos*, should be overcome and destroyed, even by the race of *Aeneas*, if I bee not deceived.

— *Hic illius Arma,*

*Hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
Si qua fata sinant, jam tum tendetque fovetque.*

Englished thus by John Ogleby out of Virgil.

— *Here her Arms, and here*

*Her Charriot was: that this Earth sway should beare
(If Fates permit) she fosters and intends.*

This unfortunate sister and wife of Jupiter had not the credit of changing the decrees of destiny,

— *Fato stat Jupiter esse.*

— *To Fate, was Jupiter himselfe conforme.*

And

And yet the Romans have not done them so much honour, although they put Carthage under their power, against the designe and desires of *Juno*, as to an unchast whore, and a villanous and an infamous *Larentine*, now of all the gods you honour, its certaine there are many of them that have raigned in the world; if they had now the power to give Empires and kingdomes, whilst they were kings, and commanded men, of whom received they their authority? what gods have beene worshipped by *Saturn* and by *Jupiter*? it may be twas some *Sterculus*, to whom they gave immortallity because he first found out the invention of dunging the earth, but hee lived since their death with the people that inhabited the territory of Rome. If any of your gods have not had the Sovereigne power heere below, in their time, there were Kings that rendred them not as yet Divine honours, because they were not as yet acknowledged for gods; from whence it followes that it belongs to others then to them to give kingdomes, because there were kings established a long time before they consecrated these deities.

But see how ridiculous a thing it is to attribute the greatnesse of the Romans, to the merit of their piety and care had of Religion, seeing their Religion became much more pompous and costly since their estate grew powerfull, and their dominion enlarged. For although *Numa* was author of all your superstitious mysteries, yet in his time the Romans served their gods without Images and Temples, their Reli-

ligion being then void of all costlineffe and ostentation; their ceremonies then neither rich, nor magnificent, wee saw not as then Capitolls raised up to Heaven, but onely altars of turfe made in hast, as served occasion and upon necessity: the vessels for their sacrifices were as then but of earth, from whence onely issued the odor of all the bloud of the beasts which were sacrificed. Engraven representations of the gods then no where appeared. For the Greeks and Tuscans who first invented the art of making carved images to the gods were not as then spread in the City of Rome. Its true therefore the Romans were powerfull before they were Religious, neither was it their piety that was the cause of their greatnesse

For, how should the care of Religion become great to them, who owe their greatness to impietie and sacriledge? for if I bee not deceived, Kingdomes and Empires are established by disorders of war, and increase by victories. Wars and victories ordinarily produce the taking and ruine of Cities. Which things cannot bee done without offending the gods. Fury at the same time indifferently assaulting the walls of Temples and Cities, slaughters involving Priests and Citizens without distinction, and the Souldier eager for his prey, sparing no more sacred things, then prophane. In which regard the *Romans* committed as many sacriledges, as they obtained conquests; triumphed as often over their gods as over men; all Images of strange and captive gods, yet in your Temples, remaine as so many booties taken

ken from people overcome by you, and these gods suffer their enemies to worship them, giving an endless Empire to them, whose outrages they should rather have punished, then recompensed after that sort their sacrilegious flatteries.

But as it's unprofitable to honour these gods that have neither sense, nor knowledge, so it's as little dangerous to offend them. *Certes* true pietie permits not to believe, that this people who (as aforesaid) encreased Religion by scandalizing it, againe scandalized Religion in labouring for its judgement, should get this great power to which arrived, by any reverence borne by them to divine things; neither is it otherwise in like manner, to be believed, that those Nations, whose Countries conduced in their being conquered by them, unto the Roman greatness, before losing their Countreys, should bee destitute of all manner of Religion.

CHAP. XXVI.

Returne then into your selves, and examine if it bee not more likely that it's hee distributes Kingdomes, he to whom the World belongs which Kings governe, and whom Kings depend upon, who command on the Earth; that it's hee that hath ordained the change of Emperours in the sequell of times, and course of ages, who was before all times, and who from times hath composed the ages, that
rayseth

raiseth up estates, and makes them fall from their greatnels, whom men have acknowledged for their Authour before they had established among them any societie: confels your errour. *Rome*, this Citie heeretofore a field, is ancients then any of your gods; she had her Laws revered before she built this vast and magnificent worke of the Capitol. The *Babylonians* reigned before the creation of your high Priests. The *Medes* before that of the fifteene men, whom, you propounded to consult on the *Sybil's* Bookes. The *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, and *Amazones* possessed great Empires before we heard speak of the *Saliens*, *Lupercals*, and *Vestal Virgins*.

After all, if the gods of the *Romans* disposed of Kingdomes, the Jewish Nation who alwaies neglected these kindes of Deities, had never formed an Estate powerfull as it hath done: they abhorred your Idolatry, and on the contrary, you have sacrificed oblations to their god, you have presented gifts to his Temple, you have lived in alliance with them along time, and they had never fallen under your power, if they had not offended their God by the unworthy treating they used to Jesus Christ.

CHAP. XXVII.

MEE thinks we have purged our selves very well of the crime of high treason, when we say we offend not your deities, because wee
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shew they are no deities. Therefore when wee are exhorted to present them sacrifices, wee oppose for our defence, the trust wee put or owe to the light God hath given us: wee call our consciences to our aide, which shews us certainly, to whom the worship you render to these images should be adressed, which are exposed to a sacrilegious adoration, and to the names of men you have consecrated: but some say there is folly in our resistance, wee may sacrifice when prest to it, and conserve our lives without injuring our consciences, in keeping a secret resolution to remaine firme in our Religion, and that in neglecting our security, wee prefer a vaine selfe-will before our welfare. So you give us an advise that teacheth us how to deceave you, but we know the author of this counsell, and who inspires it into you: wee know the crafts of that wicked one, who sometimes by the wiles of his perswasions, sometimes, by the force of torments makes us suffer, strives to overthrow our constancy. It is that malicious spirit whose substance is that of Angels, and Divels, who by his sin finally falling from grace becomes our enemy, and envies at that state of happinesse wherein by Gods gracious assistance we yet remaine, and who puts projects in your minds to assault us, who secretly excites these furious motions that corrupts all functions of reason in you, and dispose you to do us the injustice we spoke of in the beginning of this discourse; of condemning us against the rules of justice, and in tormenting us, although guilty of no fault: for although all power of Devils,

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and this wicked spirit, is subject to us, yet it falls out sometimes, that like unto wicked and faithlesse slaves, in the midst of the feare they have of the authority God hath given us over them, they give themselves over to actions of disobedience and revolt: and as the ordinary effect of feare, is to produce hatred, they strive to wrong them, whose power they feare.

Besides in the estate of rage, and despaire to which they are reduced, because their condemnation is already pronounced, they find content in their wickednesse, they solace themselves in their evils, by those they make against the servants of God, against the day of the last judgement when they shall bee shut up in hell to suffer there eternally.

Nevertheless, they combate not with us after this sort but at a distance, for when wee come neare them, they must yield, being under our power, and are forced to acknowledge the misery of their condition, so the Devills that assault us when far from us, have recourse to entreaties when we affront them neare hand. Therefore when we must undergoe such punishmentes as you ordain for your wretched slaves, when they shut us up in prisons, where they cause us to be condemned to work in the mines, or to some other servile work of the same condition; in the end when they exercise all their rage against us, by the impetuous motions of fury that transports them because they see they are subjected to our authority, knowing their forces are inferior to ours, and therefore our victory is assured, and their destruction is inevitable, then

then we defend our selves against these troublesom & importunate spirits, as if they were our equalls, wee resist them by a holy perseverance in the faith which they strive to destroy; and the most glorious triumph wee can gain over them, is, when our constancy and firme resolution in the Religion of the true God condemns us to death.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BUT seeing Religion cannot bee forced, and the service of God is a pure act of the will, it seemes, it were injustice to force free men to offer them sacrifices, and would be ridiculous to oblige them to honour the gods in despite of them, seeing they ought to be carried by their owne motion and interest to seeke their favour; if they be true gods, wee should not snatch away the advantage that gives them the liberty of their nature: It should be permitted them to say, I will not have *Jupiter* favourable to mee: who are you that will force my will? I feare not *Janus*, I laugh at his anger, of which side soever of his two faces he looks upon me, what power have you to meddle with what concerns me? but the same spirit that inspires you to presse us to sacrifice to the gods, excites you to ordain us to sacrifice for the health of the Emperours, & by this meanes the interest of *Cæsar* being mingled with that of the gods, you cannot avoyd the necessity of constraining

ning us, and we cannot hinder our lives from being in perill, if wee will be faithfull to God. So wee are come to the second head of high treason, but against a majesty more august then that of the gods: for you render your duties to the Emperour with more feare, and an apprehension more industrious, then to your *Iupiter* you place in Heaven; and I find you doe wisely if you knew the true condition of this King of gods: for, tell me, whatsoever he be of the living, is he not to be preferd before the dead? but that which you doe is not so much because reason obliegeth you to it, as for the consideration of the power present with you, and which before your eyes exerciseth a soveraigne authority on the earth: therefore you shew your selves impious towards your gods, in being more afraid of the Princes of the world, then of those gods you professe to worship. Finally there is lesse danger with you to call all the gods together to be witnesses of a false oath, then to sweare falsely by the genius of *Cesar* onely.

CHAP. XXIX

BEfore then you can force us to sacrifice to the gods, it must appeare they can preserve the lives of the Emperours, and the rest of men: when you can shew us they have this power wee are willing to be declared criminalls, if we addresse not our prayers to them for the welfare of our Princes:

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If the gods you serve, who are no other then the miserable spirits of evill Angels and Devills, worke any good: if they that destroy themselves preserve others: if the condemned deliver those that exclaime against them: and lastly if the dead, as you know in your consciences your gods are, protect the living.

Why defend they not rather their statues, images, and temples, who in my opinion owe their conservation to the souldiers that guard them? But tell me if the matter, wherof these statues are formed, be not taken out of the mines of the Emperours inheritance? and if all these temples depend not absolutely on his will? There are many gods have had experience of *Cæsars* anger; and this is an advantage to us that the Prince being favourable to them, hath used his liberality and accorded some priviledges to them.

Now how is it possible that they that are subjects to the Emperour, to whom all the world is subject, should have the welfare of their Emperour in their power? there is more likely-hood they have their welfare from *Cæsar*, then *Cæsar* from them.

What? offend we the majesty of the Prince, because we cast him not under the things appertaining to him? because we turne not into derision the prayers which should be raysed up to Heaven for his preservation? and believe not that it is in the hands of the leaden statues of your gods? Truly you appeare very pious to your Prince, being you seeke his welfare where it is not, and demand it of them who can do nothing, forgetting him that hath the power

to give it; and seeing you persecute men who can demand it, and knowing how to aske it, know also how to obtaine it.

CHAP. XXX.

AS for us, in the prayers wee make for the Emperours, wee call upon the eternall God, the true God, the living God, this God to whom the Emperours prefer their assistance before that of other gods; they know very well who gave them the empire they possesse; and men as they are, know who gave them the spirit wherewith they are animated. They acknowledge there is no other, then this onely God, through whose power alone they subsist, to whom they are inferiour one degree onely, after whom they are next in place; before and above all other that are called gods. Why should they not be greater then these gods, seeing they are masters of all the living, which are more worth then the dead? they consider how farr their authority goes, and apprehend the essence of God in proving they can do nothing against him; also seeing God greater and of more power then themselves, they are forced to acknowledge they can doe nothing but by him.

Let the Princes of the earth make as many designs as they please to subdue Heaven, undertake to carry Heaven in triumph as a captive, command
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courts of guard to be kept in Heaven, strive to make Heaven tributary, they labour in vaine, hee is grear, because not altogether so great as heaven. To him heaven and all creatures appertaine, the Emperour drawes his originall from the same place whence man drew it before hee was Emperour: the author of his soule, is the author of his power. It is to him to whom wee Christians, addresse our prayers, make them with hands opened, and lifted up, because innocent; the head bare, because no cause to bee ashamed when wee pray to God. There are none declares to us the words we are to say, because it is our heart that acteth rather then our tongue: Wee pray for all the Emperours, and aske of God that he would give them a long life; that their Empire enjoy a profound peace; their house a happy concord; their armies be invincible; themselves assisted with good counsells; the people remaine in their duties, no trouble arise in the world against their authority. In the end, we forget nothing the Prince can wish for, either as a man, or as an Emperour.

Nevertheless, we cannot aske these things but of him of whom wee know wee shall obtaine them: as hee is the onely one that must grant them, wee are they alone that must pray for them, because we and none but we are his true subjects, for of all men hee is worshipped of none but us, let them put us to death because wee follow his doctrine, and offer this rich and fat sacrifice, which hee will have us consecrate unto him, to wit a prayer conceived and produced from a chaste body, an innocent soule, a spirit filled with

with holinesse, and not with the graines of incense of little value, the reares of that tree of *Arabia*, two drops of wine, the blood of an Oxe ready to die of old age, and for that reason even to bee rejected in true sacrifices; finally after all sort of uncleannesse, with a contaminated conscience. In effect there is wherewithall to wonder that among you, the Priests (vicious as they are) exactly consider if the sacrifices are pure and intire, they examine rather the inwards of the sacrifices, then the insides of them that offer them, then whilst we implore the grace of God for the Emperours, with our hands lifted up, and stretched toward heaven, let irons pierce us, gibbets put us on crosses, fires consume us, knives cut our throats, beasts devoure us: A Christian while in prayer lifting up his hands to God is in a condition fit to receive all sorts of punishments; and therefore continue, O magistrates, so affected to justice; ravish our soules, whilst they are in prayers for the welfare of the Emperours, and make a crime of truth and the service of God.

CHAP. XXXI.

BUT it may bee you imagine our hearts belie our words, that what we come from saying, of the vowes wee make for the welfare of our Emperours, is but flattery, by which wee thinke to shelter our selves from the torments prepared for us:
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But if wee use faigning, this faigning is not unprofitable, seeing you admit us to prove what we alleadg for our justification : wee entreat them who believe our Religion takes no care of the preservation of the Emperours, to examine the lawes of our God, to read our bookes which wee hide not, and which by divers accidents fall into other hands then ours. They will learne there that it is commanded us by a superabundant charity to pray to God for our enemies, and to wish good to them that persecute us.

Now have wee greater enemies, and ruder persecuters, then those who make offended majesty the ground of the crime they impute unto us ? Holy Scriptures content not themselves with this commandement ; they have another more precise and clearer, pray, say they, for Kings, Princes, and powers, that you may live in peace in the midst of publicke tranquillitie ; for, if the Empire be shaken, all its members suffer a generall shaking, it is impossible we should not feel it, because although people take us for strangers, yet seeing wee occupie certaine places, as well as they, wee make a part of the state as well as they, and together with them participate of its good and evill fortune.

CHAP. XXXII.

VVEE have yet an obligation greater then that, of praying to God for the
R Emperours,

Emperours, all estates of the Empire and prosperity of the Roman affaires. Wee are assured that the generall dissolution that threatens the Universe, and this consummation of ages which must bring such fearefull confusions in the world, is retarded so long as the glorious majesty, and triumphant Roman Empire shall last.

We desire not to bee present at the subversion of all nature, and when wee pray to God to deferr it, we pray to him that the power of the Romans may long subsist. If wee sweare not by the Genius of the *Cæsars*, wee sweare by their welfare, which is more precious then all manner of spirits together. Know you not that they call Genies Devils? wee reverence the providence of God in the persons of the Emperours, that raysed them above all nations. Wee know they governe the world with this supream authority, because God would have it so; and wee desire their conservation, because God would have us desire it. And the prayers wee make for the welfare of Emperours, are in the same esteeme with us, as most solemne oaths.

As for Devils, or Genies, we are wōt to conjure them to drive them away from the bodies of men, whereof they are seased, and render them not the honours due to God onely, by swearing by them.

CHAP. XXIII.

But

BUt why should I stay longer in making knowne with what sense of Religion and piety Christians honour Emperours? It sufficeth to say we are obliged to render them our duties, as to whom our master hath commanded us so to doe: I can easily add, the Emperour is more Emperour of the Christians, then of his other subjects, because the God of the Christians hath established him, in regard whereof wee labour more to purpose for his welfare, then other men, because wee aske it not onely of the onely God who alone can grant it us, not onely wee that demand it who are fitly quallified for obtaining the same, but the prayers moreover which we make for him have so much the more efficacy, as wee abase the Emperours Majesty under that of gods, we submit it to his onely power; to the greatnesse of God, because wee equall it not to him; for I give not the name of God to the Emperour, either because I cannot lie, or have not the forehead to mocke him withall, or that himselfe will not have me call him God.

If hee bee man, hee hath reason to acknowledge that God is more then he, it being sufficient for him to be called Emperour: this name which God hath given him is full of dignity, hee that calls him God, denyes that hee is Emperour, because if hee bee not man he cannot be Emperour. Even when hee is set on his triumphant chariot, and sees himselfe rayfed up to the highest degree of humane felicities in this world, he should be advertised then, that he is man. There is a voyce that sayth, looke behind you, re-

member what pompe soever environs you , you are still but man : we should diminish without doubt very much of his greatnesse , if in this estate we should call him God, because its a title that belongs not unto him, and contrarily wee honour him agreeably to the majesty of his estate, when we call back his spirit to the consideration of what he is, that hee may not believe he is a God.

XXXIV.

Augustus to whom the Empire owes its establishment because Lord is the surname which wee give unto God, would not suffer his subjects to call him their Lord ; yet I will make no difficulty to acknowledge the Emperour is my Lord, but it shall be, when not forced to call him my Lord, in the same sense that appertaines to my God.

When I say the Emperour is my Lord, I will not forbear in so saying to preserve my liberty. This kinde of reverence makes mee not his slave. For I have but one onely true Lord , to wit the powerfull and Eternall God , who is his God also as well as mine.

But how can it be that the father of a countrey is the Lord of the same ? certes , a name of piety is much more agreeable to such a man , then a name of power and authority. Secondly, therefore it is that we call the chiefe of perticular houses, fathers, rather

rather then Lords of families: If *Augustus* would never take upon him the name of Lord, thers less appearanc of reason to attribute that of God unto Emperours. Its a flattery thats not onely infamous, but also of a pernicious consequence: as if forgetting the respect due to the Prince, (to whom this great Empire renders obedience) you should thereby transfer the title of Emperour to another; is it not true you doe an extreame injury to the Emperour, whom you acknowledged before for your master? by this caution you render him irreconcilable to you, and his hatred kindled by you, is dreadfull to him as well as unto you whom you have honoured with the name of Emperour; You your selves must bee pious to God, if you desire to have God propitious to your Emperour. You must cease to believe thers any other God, by forbearing to call your Emperour so who hath need of the assistance of God.

But if the pleasure of the world so governes your spirits, that you blush not when you call man God against your owne knowledge, you ought, at least, to feare this title you attribute to him, be not an ilOmen; for its the making of an imprecation against the life of the Emperour, to call him God before his apotheosis.

CHAP. XXXV.

SO then Christians are publick enemies, because the honours they render to the Emperours, are neither vaine, flattering, nor rash; because that in the sense of the true Religion, they professe, they celebrate their solempne dayes, rather by the motions of a pure conscience, then the disorders of a filthy deboystnesse. Thinke you these are such great testimonies of affection, to kindle fires in the midst of the streets, to set up tables there, to make feasts in the publicke places; to change the face of the City into that of a great Taverne, to spill so much wine upon the pavement, that dirt is made therewith, and afterwards to run in troopes, for quarrels, for committing insolencies, for seeking of meates answerable to unruly appetites? Must a publick shame bee the marke of a publicke joy? must these things bee counted seemely on the solempne dayes of Princes, which at no other time, on no other dayes are either fitting or decent.

What? they who live according to the rules of exact discipline, that their prayers may obtaine from God the wellfare of the Emperour, shall they I say, change the manner of living, thus to honour the Emperour? shall liberty, and corruption passe for piety? What serves to enflame concupiscence shall it bee imputed an act of Religion? I confesse it is just

to condemne us; for why while observers of chastity, temperance, and all other Christian and morrall vertues, deny we them the licentiousnesse of making such like brutish rejoycings and bedlam sports for the welfare of the Emperours? why when all the world besides in joy, shade we not our doores at the same time with laurells? why set we not up candles and burne (as wee use to say) in the proverbe day-light with torches? for it is counted a meritorious thing with you, in celebrating publicke solemnities to adorne your dwellings with all manner of vicious ornaments agreeable to licentious youth in harlots houses.

But let us see if they that envy us the name of Romans, and suppose us enemies, to the Roman Empire, fall not into the selfesame crimes they reproach us with that are Christians, let us looke into your lives, examine your histories that therein discover whether or no you (the people I meane) who accuse us after this manner, offend not more then wee this second Majesty, whether you commit not more then wee, this second sacriledge, a crime layd to our charge, because wee solemnise not with you the dayes you feast on in honour to the Emperours, with all kind of beastly ceremonies repugnant to our modesty, chastity and purity. I addresse my selfe to this common people of Rome, to this popularity who occupy the seven hils of this great City, and aske them if their language, as Roman as it is, hath spared any of their *Cæsars*. The placcards fixt to the Statues of *Tiber*, and the Cirques where they bring
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the wild beasts, that are taught to teare men in peeces, and whether they heare the people in the midst of these publicke spectacles speake ill of the Prince, can render sufficient testimonies heerof. If nature had given to man a body of as transparent a matter as a looking glasse, is there any in this great multitude, that appears not with the image of some new Emperour engraven on his heart, set on a throne lifted up, giving order for the distributing of the presents the Princes are wont to make to the publicke at his comming to the Empire, at which instant hee heares these confused voyces which crie,

De nostris annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos?

From our own years, should Jupiter add more to thine.

A Christian can neither pronounce these words, nor make wishes for the change of Emperours. You say these are actions of the vulgar, but they are the actions of the Romans, and of those that are the greatest enemies wee can have, for its this popularity that crie the lowdest against the Christians. But it may be other Orders have beene faithfull to their Princes to the proportion of the authority they have in the State; that there is come out no conjuration from the body of the Senate, and of the Knights, that the Souldiers have not attempted the Emperours lives, they are safe in their owne pallaces: from whence then an *Avidius Cassius*, a *Piscenius Niger*, and a *Claudius Albinus*? from whence those that assieged the Emperor *Comodus* between the two lawrell woods? from whence those in the exercise of the *Athletes* got the force they imployd to strangle that Prince?

Prince? From whence those that forced the palace with their armes in their hands, with more impudence then the *Sigeres* had, and the *Parthenians*? If I bee not deceived they are all Romans, all these Parricides are of the Religion of them that professe Christianitie. So that these people, at the same moment they went to commit these attempts so full of impiety, did sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperour, swore by his Genius, shewing themselves outwardly much different from that they were within, and gave to the Christians the names of publicke enemies. But so many persons as are dayly discovered to bee confederates, or approvers of this detestable party made against *Severus*, these rests of so great a harvest of parricides; what lawrells newly gathered, and covered with branches, did they not put up before their doores? with what elevated and lighted torches did they not blacke the entry of their houses withall? what rich and magnificent tables did they not set up in the chiefe places of Rome? not to take part in the publicke joyes, but that by the occasion of a solemnity ordayned for another, they made the Deities they cald on understand, that the prayers they had conceived, and changing in their minds the name of Prince, by the image of this pompe, they consecrated that of their hopes.

They that consult with Astrologers, Devines, Augures, and Magitians concerning the welfare of their Emperours, render them all these duties; these curious sciences were taught men by the revolted Angels.

God hath forbid the use thereof, and therefore Christians make no use of them, no not to try what should be the successe of their owne affairs; but it is true, one cannot without crime enquire of these impostors of the welfare of the Prince. For who can have an interest in it, but hee that hath a designe upon his death, who wisheth it, hopes it, and expects something should happen against it? Wee do not informe our selves of the fortune of our neighbours, with the same intention wee informe our selves of that of our masters. The curiosity that produceth the affection of blood hath other motions then that which enters in the mind of a subject by the hatred it carryes to servitude.

CHAP. XXXVI.

NOW seeing they who had the names of Romans, were enemies of the State, why doe they deny us the title of Romans, wee whom they call enemies? but cannot we bee Romans without being enemies, because it is found they were enemies who passed for Romans? Certes the piety we should have to the Emperours, the judgement of Religion, with which wee are obliged to pray for their welfare, and the testimonies of the fidelity due to them, consist not in these exterior duties whereof wee have spoken: contrarily under the vaile of these ceremonies men may hide their ill will; but it consists

sists in the ceremonies of the actions of vertue that commands the law of God, and that Christians are bound to practise, as much for the Emperour in particular, as for all the world in generall; for the good wee do, is not a tribute wee owe but to our Prince. Our good workes distinguish not the qualities of persons, because wee labour not for our selves, and looke not for the prayse, or recompense of men, but of God, who hath a faithfull register of our good actions, and gives us a rich recompense when they are indifferent, and have not for an object any other consideration in the world. We live with our Emperours even as with our neighbours.

It is equally forbidden us to wish evill, to do evill, and to speake evill of our neighbours, yea to thinke evill of whosoever it bee: that which is not lawfull for us to undertake against the person of the Emperour, is not permitted us against any other person whatsoever: that which is not lawfull for us to undertake against a particular, is perhaps lesse lawfull against him God hath raysed up to so great dignity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

IN effect, if (as wee have said heer before), it bee commanded us to love our enemies; remaines there any wee must hate? if revenging injury received, bee forbid us, as also to commit the same fault, they fall into that have offended us; remaines

there any one, to whom it is lawfull for us to do a displeasure unto? judge of it by your owne knowledge? How often by a blind obedience, render you as much to your passions, as to your lawes; you employ the sword and fire against Christians? How often doe these people, being our enemies, of their owne accord, without your authority, assault us with stones, or burne us? Certes, they are so enraged against us, that during the furies of the *Bacchinales*, they spare not even Christians that are dead, but trouble the rest of their graves, they violate their Sepulchers, which are as sanctuaries of the dead, they draw forth their bodies not to bee known whose bodies they are, after mangled by them, which with extreame inhumanity they teare and drag in the streets. In the midst of all these outrages, have you observed that these people, who (as you thinke) have formed so strange a conspiracy, and on the other side might bee animated enough for revenge by the punishments, wherewith you make them lose their lives, endeavoured any thing against you to resent the evill treating they have received? Think you that they want an occasion? When in one night onely a small number of torches would be enough to satisfie their revenge, if with us it were permitted to render evill for evill; but God forbid wee should doe so.

A Religion that is all Divine ought not to revenge by the instigation of men; and must not think it strange to suffer that which is made use of to prove them. If we would declare against you, as o-
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pen, rather then pursue you as secret enemies, might wee not have forces and troopes enough? It may bee the *Moores* and *Marcomanes*, the *Parthians*, or whatsoever people they are, shut up in the bounds of the Countrey they inhabit, make a greater number of men, then they that are spread throughout all the Universe, and have no other limits then that of the world. Our originall is but of late, and we fill already all that your power acknowledgeth, Cities, Fortresses, Isles, provinces, the assemblies of the people, the armies also, the wards, and tents of Rome, the Palace, the Senate, and the publicke places; Finally wee leave you but the Temples. What warrs were wee not able to undertake? With what promptitude might we not arme our selves, although wee should bee the weaker; wee that suffer our selves so willingly to bee killed, if in our Religion it were not rather lawfull to let our selves bee killed, then to kill others? Wee would also make warr against you without taking up armes, and casting our selves into a revolt; it were enough not to live with you, and to seporate our selves, our divorce would print shame in your foreheads. For if the Christians, who make so great a multitude of all sorts of persons, should abandon you, to retire into some Countrey of the world dispersed from all society; truly the losse of so many Citizens, of what condition soever they are, would disparage your government, and also our retreat would bee a rude punishment to you; without doubt the solitude that would remaine with you, this silence of all things, this ge-

nerall astonishment of nature, even as if all the world were dead, would frighten you, you might goe seeke subjects to command, there would remaine to you more enemies then Citizens: now you have more Citizens then enemies, because there are a greater number of Christians among you. But if we were not neare you, who would snatch you away from these secret enemies, whose malignant operations make so strange a confusion in your minds, and so horrible an alteration of your health? I have heard speake of the possession of Divells, wherewith you are tormented from whence we deliver you freely and without reward; if wee had the spirit of revenge, it were enough to satisfie us, that these corrupted spirits might at all times sease on your bodies, and that entrance therein were alwayes open to them. But as you do not thinke of that you ought, to wit, so deare a protection, you cease not to declare a people, to bee your enemies, who do you no hurt, whose assistance is so absolutely necessary to you. It is true wee are enemies, yet not of men, but of their errorrs.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Then being you see no evill can be imputed to our Religion, and on the contrary, the piety it teacheth, is saving to men, you should let them have better usage then that they have had: you

you should approve of them as of a lawfull and permitted society, because there is no such thing committed by them as is wont to be feared from factious societies, and such as is forbid by the lawes.

If I bee not deceived, the cause why Magistrates forbid them, is the care they have of the publicke tranquillitie: that the City be not divided in parties, for that sooner disturbs all the orders of the Roman people, makes tumults in the midst of the assemblies of the multitude, and also disquiets the use of the lawfull pleasures of this people, when the pleasures they affect with so much desire possesse their eyes; for it is subject to receive diverse impressions. They interesse themselves in the factions made by the ambition of evill Citizens. They share their affections among them, and one may feare these disorders now more then ever, because we live in a time, in which men sell their services to commit violences. As for us, as wee care not for gaining honour, and possessing great matters of this world, nothing obliegeth us to assemble our selves against the prohibitions of Lawes; and its far from our thoughts, to meddle with publick affaires. Wee acknowledge but one onely republicke of all men, which is the world; Wee renounce your shewes, as wee condemne their diverse originalls, by the knowledge wee have that they are the effects of superstition and idolatrie.

Finally, wee regard not what passeth there, have no comerce with the furies of the Cirques, with the unchastity of the Theater, the vaine exercise of the

Athletes,

Athletes, and the cruelties of the amphitheater. If lawfull for the *Epicurians* to faine a voluptuousnesse to themselves, wherein they established the truth of the Sovereigne good. In what then do we offend you, if wee take other pleasures then yours ; but if wee will be ignorant of all kind of delights , me thinks it is not for your interest ; and if there be any losse , it falls all upon us. We reject, say you , the things that please you : wee have reason so to doe , because our pleasures are not yours.

CHAP. XXXIX.

After shewing Christian Religion (which you call a factious society) innocent of all crimes by you attributed to it ; its time I discover unto you its maners, to the end, that having refuted the evill wherewith it is reproached, I shew you the good wherewith it is replenished. Wee make a body, or by certaine knowledge all conspire in the service of the true God, where we live united under one Discipline, and one onely Faith, or, by a happie conjunction , conceive all of us the like hope of eternal felicity. We assemble together by troops in our prayers to God , as if thereby wee would carry as by force , the grant of whatever prayers we present unto him ; it is a violence that is agreeable to him ; we pray to him for the Emperours , their Ministers, the

the magistrates that have the exercise of their power, for the pollicke estate, the tranquillity of the Empire, the retarding of the generall dissolution that must put an end to all things. Wee assemble together to read the holy Scriptures, and wee read them according to the condition of the times, what serves either to admonish, or confirme the faithfull. In effect the Scriptures nourish our faith, lift up our hope, and assure the confidence wee have in God, neverthelesse we cease not to confirme our discipline by the strength of precepts we continually repeate.

In these assemblies wee make exhortations, and threatnings, and exercise Divine censure, that banisheth sinners, and excludes them from our communion: wee judge them with very much circumspection, because we know that God is in the midst of us, and sees what we doe; and certainly it is a great fortelling of the judgement God will, one day, pronounce against the wicked, when the Church, moved with the enormity of their crimes, darts out upon wilfull sinners the thunderbolts of excommunication, and deprives them from the participation of its prayers, its society, and all sort of holy commerce with it. In our assemblies there are Bishops that preside, and have authority over all the faithfull committed to their charge; they are approved by the suffrages of them whom they ought to conduct, and it is not bribes that acquire them this honor, but testimonies given of their good life. For in the Church of God nothing is done by the allurements of

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gifts:

gifts: if there be among us any kind of treasure, the money layd up makes our Religion not ashamed; neither can it be sayd what brought unto us is a tribute, or price payed to participate of its ho'inesse: every one contributes a little sum, at the end of the month, or, when hee will: but it is, if hee will, and can; for none are constrained to give: if wee get any almes, it is of good will, riches gathered in this manner are as the pledges of piety; wee do not confound them in eating and drinking with excesse; we make not use of them for the fowle and loathsome exercise of gluttony: but we employ them in feeding the poore, and burying them, in comforting children that are destitute of parents and goods, in helping old men who have spent their best dayes in the service of the faithfull, in helping the poore that have lost by shipwracke what they had, and in assisting them that serve in the mines, are banished into Islands, or shut up in prisons, because they professe the Religion of the true God, that during the time they suffer for the confession of his name, they may be nourished with the stocke of the Church. But its a strang thing that this charity among us gives occasion to som to blame us. See, say they, how they love one another; this astonisheth them, because they hate one another, See, say they, how they are ready to die one for another, but as for them they are ready, to kill one another; & I think, they have nothing to say against the name of Christian we give one another, for with them paternal names, & the affinity that blood produceth, expresseth but a fained affectiō, & disguised amity.

amity. It must not seeme strange to you if wee call one another brethren, seeing wee are all your brethren by the right of nature, which is mother to us all. Wee have the same principles as you, but you renounce the humanity common to us; because you are evill brethren to us: but with how much more reason are they called and esteemed brethren; who acknowledge one same father, to wit, the living God, that have received the same spirit of Sanctitie, who being shut up in the same darkenesse, and ignorance, as children in the belly of their mother, came forth happily, and in opening their eyes were frighted at the sight of the same light, which is that of truth? But, it may bee, it is not believed we are brethren indeed, because there are no tragedies, that speake of the bloody disorders of Christians, or because wee are brethren, but unto the common usage of the goods of the world, which with you have the power to dissolve the union of brotherhood; therefore, as we live with the same intelligence, as if we had all but one spirit, and one soul, we make no difficulty to put all things betweene us in common; we have nothing in particular but our wives, of all things in the world there is nothing but wives, whereof wee reject community; and, on the contrary, among them, of their wives onely there is community with other men; for as they have used to defile the mariages of their friends, they prostitute also mariages with very much patience to the unchastitie of their friends: that which they have learnt, if I be not deceived, in the schoole

of a Greeke *Socrates*, and Roman *Cato*, who have sometimes lent their wives to their friends, those they married to have children by, to bee engendred by others then themselves and out of their houses. I know not if they lent them against their wills; for why should they have any care of their chastity, whom their husbands abandon so lightly? O famous example of a Grecians wisdom, and Roman feveritie! A Philosopher and a Censor make a shamefull trade of the chastitie of their wives.

Now seeing wee live together with so much charity, that all our goods are common; why should they wonder if wee make good cheere? for it is one of the excesses you reproach us with, besides the infamous crimes whereof you accuse our repasts, you reprove us with prodigality; it may bee it is of us *Diogenes* hath said, the *Megarians* make feasts, as if they would die to morrow, and they build also, as if they would never die. Certes, each of you sees easier the straw in his neighbours eye, then the beame in his owne. The aire is corrupted with the ill sentes that goe out of the mouths of so many people, that spew in the streets.

What, the *Salians* could not make one repast, unlesse they found some body that lent them money to supplie their expences? your stewards would bee troubled to make ready the accounts of the money spent in feasts, where you vow the tenth of your goods to *Hercules*? In *Athens* they chuse the excellentest cookes to celebrate the feast of the *Apaturies*, wherein the midst of their deboystnes, they call upon the

the Deity of father *Denis*; the souldiers who have the charge of watching by night, to hinder the burning of the City, are troubled at the sight of the smoake that riseth in the aire, in making ready supper in honour of *Serapis*? And yet they will talke of nothing, but the excesse of the Tables of the Christians? But you need but consider the name given to our repast to know the quality thereof. They express themselves with the same word that signifies dilection with the Greekes, whatsoever the cost is that is made, it is profitable, for they gaine alwayes in this expence; because it hath piety for its foundation. Its a sweetnesse, wherewith wee comfort the want of the poore, but we do not treat them, as you those infamous gluttons, who glory in selling you their liberty for the price of the good bits, wherewith they fill their bellies in the midst of a thousand indignities. But wee will have the least served with our goods, because we know they, among all men, are, the most acceptable to God.

Then seeing our banquets have so honest an end, consider what our Discipline should be in the rest of our actions, even those which more concerne the duties of Religion; it permits nothing that is dishonest, nor far from modesty. Before wee goe to table wee are fed with heavenly meat; which is the prayer we make to God; wee eate as much, as is necessary to satisfie ones appetite, wee drinke as much as is permitted to persons that have a care of their purity. They that sit there take their refection with so

much temperance, as they may remember they are obliged to worship God, even at night. They entertaine one another as people that know God heares what they say. After the repast done, and washt their hands, and lighted the candles, they are invited to prayse God, and to sing Psalmes, taken out of the holy Scripture, or Hymns; every one composeth according to the capacity of his mind. By this it may be known, if they have committed any excesse at table; as the repast began with prayer, so it ends; they goe forth, not in diverse troopes to defile their hands with the bloud of men, nor in severall bands running in the streets, nor to doe insolencies; but with the same care they had in comming in, preserving their modesty and chastity.

Finally, Christians retire with so much staydnesse, that wee may very well see, they are not fed so much with corporall meats, as the substance of heavenly and holy discipline. Certes, it were but reason, that this society of the Christians should bee reputed unlawfull, if it were like to that the lawes forbid; it were but good reason it should bee condemned, if it were not different to that which deserves to bee condemned; if one would reproach it with the same things wherewith they accuse factious societies. But tell me, did wee ever assemble to procure the hurt of any one? As we are seperated, we are the same also in a bodie: as wee are in particular, so we are in generall: that is to say, in whatsoever estate we are found, we offend no body, wee injure no body; when any vertuous or godly people
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are associated, when any pious or chaste persons assemble together, their union should not be called a faction, but a lawfull society.

CHAP. XL.

BUT, contrarily, the title of factious appertaines truly to them, who forme intelligences of undoing good men, whom they hate, who, by a wicked combination, lift up their voyces against the bloud of innocents, and ground not their hatred but on the false opinion they have, that Christians are the cause of al the calamities arrive in the world, and evils that people suffer.

If *Tiber* overflowes, if *Nilus* have not watered the plaines, if Heaven hath stopt its course, and not powred its raines heere below, if the earth quake, there bee famine, or plague, immediately they crie out, cast the Christians to the Lyons. What is one Lyon able to devoure so many Christians? But consider, I pray you, how many evils have afflicted the Universe, & Cities which make a part thereof before the Empire of *Tiberius*, that is to say, before the birth of Jesus Christ. Vvee read that the Island of *Hierapolis*, *Delos*, *Rhode*, and *Co*, were heertofore lost with many thousands of men that inhabited them. *Plato* reports, that the *Atlantick* Sea hath covered an Island of a greater extent, then *Asia*, and *Africa* together. An Earthquake made the Sea of *Corinth* appear

peare drie, and the impetuosity of the waves seperating *Lucarna* from the firme land of *Italy*, and banishing it from its continent, hath made an Island, which is now known by the name of *Sicily*. Certainly all these accidents could not happen, but the people must have suffered strange misfortunes. But, I will not onely say, where were the Christians, the contemners of your gods, but your gods themselves, when the deluge covered & drowned all the world, or (as *Plato* supposeth) the flat countries onely? for, indeed, wee cannot but doubt your gods are since this generall inundation, the Cities where they took birth, & where they died, and those they built render testimonies therof: they would not have beene, they had not lasted till our time, if their originall were not after this Universal disorder, when the justice of God punished all the world? *Palestina* had not yet served for a retreat to the people of *Israel* at their going out of *Egypt*. The *Iewes*, whose law is the source of the Christian Religion, was not yet established, when as two Cities neer to this province, *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* were consumed by a raine of fire: the Countrey retaineth still the odor of that ancient burning, and if the trees beare any fruits, they are fruits onely to the sight, so soone as one toucheth them they are turned into ashes. *Tuscany*, and *Campania* did not complaine of the Christians, when fire from Heaven consumed the City of *Vulsina*, and that of *Pompeyes*, was burnt by flames the neighbour mountaine vomited. No body, as yet, cald on the true God at *Rome*, when *Hanniball*, after hee had got the great victory

victory of *Cannes*, by the number of gold rings hee got of the *Romans*, and measured by the bushell; which made the count of the men killed in the battel.

All people indifferently adored your gods; when the *Gaules* came with their armes in their hands unto the Capitol, and besieged it: but is it not a powerfull argument against your error which wee see in your histories, that when Cities were forced, temples and walls had the same destiny? for, from thence I boldly conclude, that your gods send not these evils on the earth, because they are mortall, as well as you. If discover the source of the evils, wherewith the race of men have been afflicted in all ages, know it hath been their ingratitude hath excited against them the anger of God. For, they have alwayes offended this great author of nature, because not acknowledged the graces received of him. Hee hath given them the knowledge of a part of his greatnesse, in exposing before their eyes the beauty of the Universe, which publisheth his honour so highly; and instead of imploying themselves in so noble a search, they faigned to themselves other gods, to whom they have rendred the honour that appertained not, but to him alone.

After this fault, they committed another, which is, in not seeking out him that is the master, and example of innocencie, and who is also the judge and revenger of sin, abandoning themselves to all sorts of vices, and shamefully defiling themselves with execrable crimes: the which, if they had looked into, as they were obliged, without doubt, they

they had knowne him, and in knowing, honoured him, and after that had sooner resented his favours, then his wrath. Let them not then trouble themselves about the cause of these evils, but know they are the effects of the fury of this same God, who, in all ages, hath given them proofes of his indignation, before they heard speake of the name of Christians. Man this wicked race that injoyed at ease all the goods God created for him, before all false gods, adored by him were forged, will hee not comprehend that these evils came from the hand of him to whom he hath not rendred homage for his goods? In sum, his ingratitude is his crime, hee hath offended the majesty of God, in failing to make due acknowledgement of him. Yet if make comparison of the calamities of the time past, with this time, wee shall finde since the very moment God sent the first Christians on the earth, publicke evils have beene more tollerable then before they were. Its very easy to discover the reason of it, the innocence whereof they make profession hath diminished the iniquities of the world, and begun to turne away, with their prayers, the just vengeance of God. But, see heere a manifest proofe of your blindness. During the great draught of summer, when an excessive heat stayed the raine, and hindred that it fell not on the earth, in the time when everyone desired water, that the fruits of the earth might come to maturity, you lose not the use of your pleasures, and debauchnesse, and among the pastimes you take in your bathes, your tavernes, and your unchast houses, you demand

demand of *Jupiter*, by divers kind of sacrifices, and by the use of many superstitions, the help whereof you have need; you ordain publicke prayers, where the people being barefooted invoke the assistance of the Gods, you seeke in the Capitole that which you cannot find, but in heaven; you stay till the feelings of your temples be changed into clouds, to give you raine, and thinke to obtaine that you desire, without addressing your selfe to God, and turning your selfe towards heaven, where hee powres downe his graces upon men. Our proceedings are much different from yours, in these publick necessities we mortifie our selves by fastings; wee practise continency, with all the severity wee can; wee abstaine, for a time, from all corporall nourishment, we take sackcloth and ashes, as markes of our affliction; and in this condition, wee strike at heaven with our cries; wee constraine him to have pittie on us; wee make him ashamed of our misery; and when wee have overcome the anger of God, and puld downe his mercy, you honour your *Jupiter*, and thanke him for a benefit comes not from him.

C H A P. XLI.

Certainly, that which you say unjustly of Christians, Christians may, with good reason, say of you, that you do nothing but hurt the society of men, and by your crimes, every day,
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draw publicke evils upon them; for the evill of punishment is the effect of the neglect you have of God, and the worship you render to statues: in a word its more credible, that God neglected by mankind, should bee sooner irritated against you, then those that receive his services, otherwise the Gods you honour would be very unjust, if in punishing Christians they make no difficulty to punish them also that adore them. They should seperate their servants from the condition of Christians, their enemies. You likewise oppose to us that this argument resists the justice of our God: because hee suffers that they who serve him feeble the publicke evils, even as the prophane that do not acknowledge him. But observe the order our God hath establisht, and when comprehended it, you will forbear this objection. Hee that hath ordained at the end of all ages the judgement of men, and to distribute to al recompenses or everlasting punishments, puts no difference betweene them before the consummation of time, doth not, before hand, make a seperation of the good and evill, but reserves it for his last judgement: in the meane time, hee equally treats all mankind, whether hee shewes them mercy, or reproves them in his anger: Hee will have both good and bad things common to his servants and the prophane; that wee may, in the society of the world, without any distinction, bee all tryed by his clemency and severity: as for us, as wee have learnt all these things of him, we love his clemency, and feare his severity: contrarily, you neglect both the one and the other, and from thence

it comes that all the miseries the world receives from the hand of God, are, to us, voyces from heaven, that admonish, and exhort us to do well, and to you, they are chastisements of your crimes. In the midst of these calamities, wee feele no displeasure, for nothing tyes us to the world, and wee have no interest, but to bee gon ere long; besides, wee know; they are the disorders of your lives, that procure these evils, wherewith the world is afflicted; and if there falls any part upon us, because we are mingled with you, wee take occasion to rejoyce, because it puts before our eyes the truth of the holy scriptures, that confirme in us the confidence wee have in the promises made to us; that fortifies our faith, and assures our hope. If it be true, they are the Gods you honour afflict you so cruelly because of us, how is it possible you continue still to worship so ungratefull, and unjust gods; seeing, contrarily, to injure the Christians, they should rather assist, and defend you?

CHAP. XL II.

BUt, after all these crimes, they object against us, and say, wee are not any way profitable in commerce of the world. I know not how that can be sayd of us, seeing wee live with you, wee use the same meates, and the same habits as you, we have beene brought up the one as the other, and the

necessities of life are common betweene us. For, wee are not like the *Brachmanes*, or the *Gymnosophists* of *India*, wee retire not into the woods; wee banish not our selves from all things necessary for life, wee continually remember, we have great obligations to our God, our Lord, our Creator: we reject not any good thing, his goodnesse hath produced, for our use: we containe our selves in a just moderation, that wee may not take with excesse, or without having need: we remaine with you in the world, but not seperate from the ordinary commerce: wee are not without your publicke places, your markets, your baths, your shops, your Inns, your Faires. Wee saile, beare armes, cultivate the ground, and trafficke with you; so that wee mingle our functions with yours; and make open profession of working for your service. I cannot comprehend how you can imagine wee are not profitable to you, and that we contribute nothing to the offices of society, seeing it is with it, and by it wee live: But if I do not assist at your ceremonies, if I celebrate not your feasts, yet I am a man as well that day as other dayes. During the Saturnalls I goe not into the bath before day, because I will not employ the houres of night and day unprofitably, yet I wash my selfe at a convenient houre, that the bath may serve to preserve my health and conserve my life and blood: is it not enough, when I am dead, that all my body growes stiffe and pale after it is washed? the daies on which are represented games in honour of your Gods, I eate not publikely, as you doe, according to the custome of these wretched creatures,

creatures, who at the instant they are to bee devoured by wild beasts, fill their bellies before all the world for their last repast; yet in any other place where I eate, I eate the same meats as you doe. I buy no flowers to make a garland to put on my head: what is it to you what use I make of the flowers I have bought? mee thinks they are more pleasing to mee when they are free, unbound, and scattered without order. But, if wee must put them into the forme of a garland, wee are used, when they are in this condition, to put them neer our noses to smell to them. Let them that put them on their heads, try if it be more to purpose to smell by the haire, or by the organ of the smelling part? I am not at your shewes, but, if my appetite mooves mee to tast the good bitts that are sold in these assemblies, I will rather buy them in the places where they are ordinarily sold. I buy no incense: if the marchants of *Arabia* complaine on it, let these strangers know more wares are spent, and with greater profusenesse in burying Christians, then to fume the images of the Gods. You say, the tributes of the temples are lesse every day by the malice of men, that there is lesse given to them that keepe those holy places; but hardly can wee suffice to give comfort both to men, and to your gods that implore our charity. Wee think, it is enough to use liberallity towards them that aske it of us: Let *Jupiter* give us his hand, and hee shall not take it away empty; wee will doe him the favour, which our mercy refuseth to no body: Wee distribute more goods, in every street, then your Religion

ligion, with all its sacrifices doe in all your temples; and, on the other side, if the tributes of the temple suffer any diminution, the republike is oblieged for her owne to the piety of the Christians, because they pay what they owe with the same fidelity, which makes them abstaine from all frauds, by which men are wont to retaine unjustly the goods of others. If one consider but the losse the publicke receives by these trickes and lies, where you strive to frustrate her rights, it will bee found that the dammage your evill conscience causeth to the State in this onely ran-counter, carries away quite al the good you can do in any other thing whatsoever.

CHAP. XLIII.

I Acknowledge there are certaine persons that have reason to complaine of us, and may truly say, there is nothing to be gained for them of the Christians. They are first these infamous corrupters of chastity; these brokers of foule pleasures, and dishonest loves, these wretched creatures that serve the vildest ministers of unchastitie; after these, Murtherers, they which meddle with giving of poyson, and *Magicians*, and finally *Southsayers*, *Deviners*, and *Astrologers*. But it is very profitable in this life, to be unusefull to these people; Yet in what manner soever it be, that our Religion causeth dammage to
you

your affaires , it hath neither lost wherewithall to recompence you by the helpe you may expect from it. How much do you esteeme them, I say not them that deliver you from the power of Divells, them that pray for you to the true God: But, them you may have neere you, as assured guards, from whom there is nothing to be feared?

CHAP. XLIII.

IN effect, there is cause to wonder your passion is so irregular, that in prosecuting the Christians, you make no difficulty to take away the life of men that are profitable to the common wealth. The State receives by your injustice an evident damage, and important losse: and yet no bodie looks to it: no body weighs of what consequence the sufferings are of so many persons of good life, and the punishment of so great a number of innocents. We speake as boldly of the Christians you put to death, for wee have an unreprouchable testimony of their integrity, which wee take also from your registers, Sirs, who are employed, every day, in judging those that are kept in prisons, and who terminate their processe, by the sentences you give against them, of all the malefactors accused before you, of so many sorts of crimes; is there any of them charged with Murther, Robberie, Sacriledge, and other faults, to whom they impure also that hee is a Christian?

or else, when Christians are presented to be punished as Criminalls, because they are Christians, is there any amongst them, whose life like that of other prisoners? all the faulty wherewith your prisons are so filled that they are overcharged, are of your Religion; they are also of your Religion that make the mines groane under the weight of their blowes, they are the wretched creatures of the same Religion you are wherewith the wilde beasts fill their entrayles. All these poore criminalls, your Citizens breed up to make them cruelly kill one another before a bloody people, have the same opinion you have of the deity.

Finally, among all these wretched creatures, there is not one Christian, unlesse hee be charged by iustice, because of his name Christian: Or, if there be found a Christian attainted of any crime, hee hath no more the name Christian, because he hath lost that Divine qualitie, in losing his innocence.

CHAP. XLV.

ARe there none then in the world innocent but we, what marvaile? it must needs bee so; and otherwise it cannot bee: Forasmuch as God, having taught us innocency; wee know it perfectly, as revealed from a perfect master, and keep it faithfully as dispensed by one who will not bee mocked by us in a seeming obedience unto what hee commands.

mands. As for you its the opinion of men that makes you innocent, and their rules that governe all; thence it comes your injunctions establish not fully the truth of this excellent vertue; and, as the things most effectually to perfection are there wanting, so have they not the power of imprinting feare, in the hearts of those, that owe them obedience. For, tell me, what light hath humane learning to teach that which is truly good? What authority humane power to free men from embracing the true happiness? If it bee easie to bee deceived by the one, it is no lesse common to neglect the other.

Let us consider a little your lawes, and compare them with those of our God; which law is more accomplished, that which saith, *Thou shalt not kill*: or that which saith *Thou shalt not bee angry*? which perfecter, that which forbids adultery, or which turnes the eyes from the object, surprising the mind when idle, causeth evill desires to enter into the soul thereby? which lawe wiser, that which condemnes evill deeds, or forbids evill speakings? which purer, that which permits not to do wrong to others, or which suffers not so much as to revenge wrong after done unto ourselves? but this is not all; for you must know your lawes, which seemed to set out innocence, whereof notwithstanding they represent but an imperfect image, have borrowed that they have of good from the law of God as far more ancient then what in lawes established by men.

I have already spoken of the time wherein *Moses* lived, and therefore not necessary to repeate what

before said, to shew the lawes then published to bee the first, before all other humane lawes since, which have not the vertue of that primitive law: for, I pray you, what force have those lawes, whereof men may avoid the severity because very often their crimes are covered, and wee may sometimes freely violate them when it is by accident; or constraint they are offended by us. But wee need do nothing to make them be neglected, but this consideration, that the punishments are not of long continuance, and end with death: so *Epicurus* mockes at all sorrowes and torments that afflict the body, because hee saith, one should not apprehend them if meane, and tolerable, and if violent they will not last long. As for us, who are to answer before a God, who knowes the most hidden things, and that his justice will revenge the faults of men, with paines that shall never end, it is with good reason wee labour onely to attaine true innocencie; the perfect knowledge wee have of so rare a vertue, the difficulty wee have to hide our actions from him that sees all, the horror of torments this great God prepares for the wicked, torments that are not onely long, but eternall, obliging us to conserve purity, whereof Jesus Christ hath given us an example; for wee feare this God, the Iudges ought also to feare that condemne them, whose hearts are touched with this feare; that is to say, Christians, who feare God, and not man, whatsoever power man hath on the earth to afflict them with.

CHAP XLVI.

I Thinke, I have cleared the Christians of all the crimes, wherwith calumnious imputations make men thirst for their blood. Explained all that tends to our justification; shewne, by what meanes, wee can proove the verity of the grounds of our Religion, in that I have produced the faith of antiquity consistent with the Holy Scriptures, and the confession spirituall powers make of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He that shall bee bold enough to make us passe for impious, should not rest on the skill of vaine eloquence, and the weake endeavours of fine words: but hee must make his proove in the same forme, as wee have established ours. Certes, these testimonies are of great authority, but the admirable fruits our Doctrine produceth, the knowledge whereof is become publicke by the commerce wee have in the world, makes so downright a conflict with rude incredulity, that to defend her selfe, she is forced to say our profession, hath no matter in it Divine, but is onely a sect of Philosophy, that obligeth Christians to ranke themselves there, in the exercise of morall vertues. The Philosophers, saith shee, teach and practise the same things, Innocence, Justice, Patience, Temperance, and Chastity. If our Doctrine bee like that of Philosophers, if the comparison you make of us with them bee just, how

times it, wee are not treated as they are? for with you their sects are tolerated, and you do not punish them? But, contrarily, the Doctrine we publish is forbid by your lawes, and exposeth us to all sorts of punishments? or else, why are not they, you esteeme like unto us, forced to doe the same things you impose upon us as necessary, and which wee refuse on perill of our lives? for, is there any that forceth a Philosopher to sacrifice, or sweare by their gods, or to light candles at noone? But, contrarily, they have the liberty to overthrow the worship of your gods openly, and to reprehend your superstitions in the bookes they compose, which when they make, you commend them, evidencing thereby that you approve of their opinions. Many among them raile impudently against the Princes of the world, and you suffer them, and the justice of the land hath rather recompenses then punishments for them. They set up Statues for them, they recompence them with rewards, and wee heare not that they are delivered to the fury of wild beasts, and must avow that it is with a great deale of reason, because they beare the name of Philosophers, and not Christians. This name Philosopher driveth not away Divells how should they drive them away, seeing they put them in the ranke of gods, and take them and Divels, to bee for one and the same nature? *Socrates* had alwayes this word in his mouth, if my *Dæmon* permit me; and the same Philosopher, who witnesseth hee had the same light of truth, when hee taught we must not honour the gods, ceased

sed not to ordaine when giving up the Ghost, they should sacrifice a cocke to *Æsculapius*, I thinke it was an act of gratitude hee would render to *Apollo*, father of *Æsculapius*, because he said, *Socrates* was the wisest of all men: O strange imprudence of a God! he bore witnesse of the wisdom of a man, who denied the power of the gods. Now as truth is wont to kindle hatred, whosoever is faithfull to it and presents it all pure, and without disguise, is liable to bee checked by the lovers of this passion; but contrarily every man that makes profession of corrupting truth, acquireth by an action so detestable the favour of those who persecute it. The Philosophers will appeare followers of the truth; and because glory is the end they propose to themselves, in faigning to love it, they corrupt it; but the Christians that have their salvation for an object, earnestly desire it, with an holy necessity, and after they have met with it, conserve its purity, and publish it without bringing any change. It is not true then, whatsoever you imagine, that the knowledge and Discipline of Philosophers are like to ours; but there are other arguments of difference betweene them and us. What is this *Thales* Prince of Physitians who when *Crasus* solicited him to deliver what hee believed with certainty of God? Did hee not put him off with sundry delays to thinke further upon it? every handicraftsman, the least Christian knowes God, and is able to shew how his greatnesse is to bee comprehended. He shews by the sensible things all that humane understanding finds in God, although *Plato* affirms

affirmes this author of the Universe cannot easily be knowne, and when know him, it is hard to expresse his nature, and make his essence be conceived. Besides, if you object to us that the practise of morall vertues is common betweene the Philosophers and us, let us examine them in perticular. And to begin with chastity, I read the *Athenians* gave sentence against *Socrates*, as a defiler of young boyes; a Christian man as making love to a woman onely, accustomes not to seeke a brutish pleasure in changing the sex which nature hath ordained. I have heard a *Phrynè* hath beene made use of for *Diogenes* deboystnesse, and submitted her body to his fowle affections. That *Speusippus* a Philosopher of *Platoes* schoole, was kild n adultery; a Christian is permitted to accompany with his lawfull wife onely. *Democritus* deprived himselfe of his sight, because hee could not looke upon women without iusting after them, and afflicted himselfe when hee could not injoy them, and so by consequence witnessed his own incontinence.

A Christian hath eyes, and yet in looking upon women, sees them not; that is, with any unlawfull concupisence, being wholly blind in his mind to such desires; though quicke sighted enough to behold such like objects with the eyes of his body. If question of common civility, behold *Diogenes* with his filthy feet in greater arrogance treads on sumptuous carpets, then *Plato* whose sumptuous carpets they were; Neither is a Christian high minded towards the poor. If speake of moderation, *Pythagoras*

ras among the *Turiens*, and *Zeno* among them of *Priene*, play the Tyrants, when as a Christian hath not the ambition to be in the least power or office over the people among whom hee lives ; if wee treat of contentment in mind, *Lycurgus* will famish himselfe, because the *Lacedemonians* went about but to reforme and amend his lawes ; A Christian even when condemned to die, is thankfull to those that condemne him. If question of faithfullnesse in things committed to anothers trust, *Anaxagoras* refuseth the restitution of goods left with him, to his guests ; A Christian even by those that are not Christians is reckon'd trusty, because made prooffe they have of his fidelity. If touch on lowlinesse, I find *Aristotle*, made his friend *Hermias* goe shamefully from the place he had assumed ; A Christian offers wrong to no body, no not his greatest enemy. The same *Aristotle*, in designe to governe *Alexander*, the easier, flatters him with as much infamy, as *Plato Dionysius*, when for good cheere hee soothed up the Tyrant in his liberty. *Aristippus*, in the midst of his purple, carrying the markes of great severity in his lookes, gives himselfe over to all kind of excesse : And *Hippias*, when about to betray his countrey, is suddenly murdered : an act of barbarous revenge never yet undertooke by a Christian to a man linked with him in the interest of the same Religion, though with never so much fury persecuted by them. But some will say even among us, there are a people that gives themselves the liberty of doing evill, that free themselves from subjection to our lawes, from any

what ever exact observation of what legally commanded by us. It is true, there are some such, but so soone as they fall into this disorder, wee hold them no more for Christians. But, contrarily, these Philosophers, notwithstanding the irregularity of their lives, keepe still with you the name of wise men, and the honour which appertaineth to so glorious a title; so then what resemblance is there betweene a Philosopher, and a Christian, a Disciple of Greece, and a Disciple of Heaven, a mind desirous of vaine reputation, and a soule that seekes his salvation onely? A man that is vertuous in words onely, and hee that is so indeed: one that is wholly occupied in doing good, and another that makes no conscience in committing what ever wickednesses: he that corrupts the truth to establish error, and he that by subduing error renders to truth the beauty of its originall; hee that turnes truth out of doores as a theefe, and steales it away from the sight of men, and hee that keepes it faithfully, that it may bee known by all the world.

CHAP. XLVII.

THe antiquitie of the holy Scriptures, which I have heeretofore discovered, is a famous testimony, which may serve mee still in this place, to let you know this holy booke is a treasure from whence these wise men of the world who are
come

come since, have taken all they have left to posterity: this prooffe is proper, but long; and the onely thing that hinders mee to undertake it, is the feare I have to make too great a volume. Is there any Poet or Sophister that hath not drawn what he hath of excellent concernment from the rich sources of the Prophets? It is in these delicious fountains the Philosophers plunged themselves to qualifie the desires of their minds, and some people have also banished Philosophy from them, as the *Thebans*, those of *Sparta*, and of *Argos*, because their Philosophers corrupting what they had read in the writings of these men sent from God, composed pestilent doctrines, which a man could not heare but with horror: so these people, who as I have said, laboured not but for glory, and had no affection but for eloquence, having met in the holy Scriptures, with things that might be gainfull to them made their profit of them, and as they had no intention but to content their curiosity, accommodated the same to their designs, not acknowledging its holinesse, which should have hindred them from corrupting it; and not understanding well the sense, then covered with cloudes, and which the Jewes themselves, for whom the Prophets had written it, apprehended not, but thorough shadows that wrapt them up. They saw truth there with simplicity alwayes accompanied; but humane prudence blinded with her errors, not willing to believe in this truth which was shewed to her, remains more doubtfull and unresolved then before; from whence it comes these wise men of the world have

formed opinions variable and uncertaine touching the same things they found, or declared proved with infallible certainty. They have learnt onely from the holy Scriptures there is one God, and the opinions they have had of the nature of God divides them into many sects: One affirming God hath no body: other, that he is corporeall, (as the *Platonicks* & *Stoicks*) one, that God is composed of Atomes; other, of numbers, (as *Epicurus* & *Pythagoras*) one, that his substance is of fire (as it seemes to *Heraclitus*) the *Platonicks* hold he takes care of the conduct of the world: contrarily, the *Epicurians* that he remains in an idle tranquillity without exercise, & meddles not at all with human things. The *Stoicks* believe God hath his seat out of the Universe, from whence he manageth & removes, as a porter turnes his frame. The *Platonicks* put him in the world, and say, hee governes it within, as hee that holds the rudder of a ship; so they are of different opinions concerning the nature of the world, to know whether it hath not been made, or whether it hath not beene; if it must end one day, or must last alwaies; so, they are not agreed of the condition of our soule; some maintaine, it is divine and eternall; others, that it is subject to death: each of them hath spoken according to his sense, given way to his thoughts, changed, and corrupted the truth, to follow their owne motions; but wee must not wonder, if Philosophers have made this worke of the oracles of the old Testament, seeing wee have amongst us people, who shew themselves children worthy of such fathers, infecting the purity of our new Gospell with

with the corruption of their owne opinions, animated with the spirit of Philosophy; and who by this onely way, which brought to the knowledge of the truth, have drawn many crooked paths, wherein men cannot engage themselves without losing themselves: whereof I would willingly advertise you that the diversity found betweene us, makes you not imagine our profession is like that of the Philosophers, and that you judge not ill of the truth, because wee defend it by different meanes, and are divided in our doctrine. These people that are sepe- rated from us, have violated the faith of Jesus Christ, and wee beat downe their errours by this onely exception, that the true rule of truth is that which hath beene taught by our Master, and transmitted to us by these holy persons, who had the happinesse to heare his word, and receive his Divine instructions.

We shall shew in another place, that all which is not conformable to this rule, hath beene invented by new Doctors, who came not till after the blessed companions of the son of God; to destroy the truth, men have made use of truth it selfe by the suggestions of the spirits of error, who have inspired them to fight with it with its owne armes; they are they who have excited them to corrupt so saving a doctrine: they are they, have invented fables, where- with its holinesse hath been prophaned, that by their resemblance, they take away the beliefe from truth, or rather get it for themselves. They would ruinate faith by this detestable trick, perswading men they must not believe Christians, by the same reason not

believe the Poets, nor Philosophers; or rather, wee should believe the Poets and Philosophers, because not believe the Christians. It is this sacrilegious imitation, that makes them laugh at us, when wee preach the last judgement; the Poets and Philosophers, upon the ground of this truth, set up a tribunnall in Hell. They mocke at us also, when wee threaten them with eternall torments, which are those hidden flames the earth shuts up in her bosome, and are reserved by the justice of God, as in a treasure, for the punishment of the wicked: for these prophaners have invented, that there is in hel a River of burning fire; if wee speake to them of Paradise, a place fild with agreeable and Divine beauties, ordained to be the residence of the soules of the blessed, and seperated from the world by the interposition of this Zone of fire which God hath put before it, presently the Elysian fields comes in their thoughts; they imagine that there is that delicious place wee declare unto them. Tell mee I pray you where the Poets and Philosophers have drawn these things so like to our doctrine? if it bee not from our bookes and Discipline? if they have drawne them from our Discipline, they have without doubt the prerogative of antiquity upon them; therefore it followes, that what wee teach is truer, and ought to have more believe then all these vaine opinions. In effect these opinions are but the shaddowes of truth, and seeing the world hath given faith to these vailes, they ought rather to believe the truth that is the substance. If the Poets and Philosophers are the first authors

authors of these things which they have written, it must bee then that our Discipline is but the figure of that which is come after it, which nature permits not, because the shadow is not before the body, and the figure cannot have beene before the truth, from whom it takes its originall.

CHAP. XL VIII.

IT must bee acknowledged that the usage wee receive from you, and that you give the Philosophers, are very different: if a Philosopher sets out what *Laberius* left in writing, according to the opinion of *Pythagoras*, that a mule is changed into a man, & a woman into an adder; if he displays all the cunning of his eloquence, if hee sets out with address all his arguments to settle this opinion, is it not true that hee moves your minds? that he drawes you to his partie? that hee forceth you to believe you must abstaine from the flesh of beasts? and that after there are some found with you, that make some scruple to tast it, because in eating a peece of beefe, they feare to devoure some of their auncestors? contrarily, if a Christian assures you, a man that is dead shall live againe one day, that hee that is in the grave shall come out and take againe the same forme he had, hee is abused by the people, not onely with blowes of the fist, but also with stones cast at him. Now, mee thinkes, there is much
blindnesse

blindnesse in receiving the opinions of these Philosophers, and in condemning the Doctrine wee propose to you upon the point of the resurrection; for if there bee reason perswades that the soule of a dead man reenters into a body; why may not wee believe it enters into the same body again; and returns into the same matter from whence it is seperated; seeing the effect of a true Resurrection, is to be that which it was before? the soules after they have changed their bodies, according to the opinion of *Pythagoras*, and his Disciples, are no more the same they were heretofore: because they could not become what they are not, unlesse they cease to be what they were: wee might find wherewithall to jest on this subject, if disposed to sport our minds, and entertaine our leasure with mirth: it wou'd bee a very pleasant thing to enquire in what beasts, persons have beene changed that lived before us: but it is better we resolve to determine the truth of this proposition. We say then, it is more convenient to the dignity of our nature, to believe man shall become man againe, that every one in particular shall rise againe to be the same he was, and informed with the same soule, that animated him, with the same qualities wherewith he was endowed, although the body receive some change in his exterior figure. In sum, the designe of the Universall judgement, being the effectuall reason of our resurrection, it is necessary the same man that is dead live againe, that God may recompence, or punish for his good or evill actions the same persons. And the same bodies that are in
the

the dust of the grave must appeare at this judgement, because the soule cannot suffer alone, and without a sensible matter, that is to say, without its flesh, and as it hath not sinned but in its flesh, it also hath not merited but with its flesh the punishments, the justice of God hath ordained for its crimes. But you say to mee, how can it bee that a matter reduced to dust should represent it selfe? consider with thy selfe O man! that makest this objection to me, thou shalt find in thy owne person the proove of so rare a miracle. Thinke on what thou wast before created, thou wert nothing. For if any thing before, thou wouldst remember it. Thou then that wert nothing before thy creation, and when cease to live, shalt returne to nothing: why canst thou not once againe bee brought out of nothing by the will of the same Creator, who created thee of nothing? will there come any new thing unto thee? Thou who before wert not, art made again: after thou ceasest to live heere, thou shalt bee restored in the resurrection, and after this wee would have thee aske by what meanes God will rayse thee up againe?

But seeing hee made no difficulty to make thee what before thou wert, thou oughtest not to thinke that hee finds any to an easier thing, that is, to make thee what thou wert heeretofore. Can one doubt of the power of God, that hath made this vast and immense bodie of the world of that which was not? of nothing, and out of a *Chaos*? and who at the same moment animated this world with a spirit, that gi-

veth life to all things? hee hath given testimonies, that witnesse, and sets forth examples to us of the resurrection of man. Wee see every day, the light after it hath lost its darkenesse, takes it againe; and by turnes the darkenesse dissipates it selfe, and succeeds to light againe: the Starrs deprived of their splendor, as if they were not, in being clothed with their luster seeme to bee re-animated: the time begins at the same terme where it finished; the fruits fall off the trees, and come again in their season; the corne puts not forth its eares plentifully, till after its former graine is corrupted, and rotten in the earth: all things in perishing are conserved, spring againe after dead; and thou, O man! that shouldst bee so glorious by the excellency of thy nature, if thou knewest it, and that learnest also by the Oracle of *Apollo*, thy selfe to bee master of all creatures, as well of them that die not to live again, as of those must die to rise again. Is it possible thou shouldst die to bee no more? and that thy death ought not have a return to life again? No certainly, in what place soever thy soul is separated from thy body, whatsoever element hath destroyed thy being, swallowed up, consumed, and reduced thee to nothing; it shall render thee all entire, because nothing, and all the Universe appertain to one and the same Lord. It follows by this discourse, say you, that we must alwayes die, and always rise again: and I answer you; If God, the great Lord of all things hath so ordayned it, so it shall bee whether you like of it or no: but that which his providence

dence hath ordayned touching the Resurrection of man, is conducted by a more equitable order : Its a mystery newly revealed by his only Son Jesus Christ. This wisdom that hath composed the Universe with substances of different natures, and makes it subsist in a body, by the uniting of so many contrary qualities, of voyd, and solid, of things animate, and inanimate, of that in our power, and that above us, of life, and death, the same hath ordayned time, with this difference of conditions, that this first part in which wee live, since the very Creation of the World, was perpetually to the terme that must accomplish the number of its yeares; and the other part that followes, and which we stay for, is infinite in its durance, and perpetuates unto eternity. Betweene these two, there is a middle time, which after arrived to its end, the beauty of this Universe, which must end one day also, and is for the present, hung up before all eternity, shall change face; and then all mankind shall arise and appeare before the same God, to bee recompensed according to all the good or evill we have done upon earth, either with infinite joy, or paine in the world to come. After which wee shall neither die, nor rise againe any more. But without other change keepe still the being wee appeare in at the howre of our Universall resurrection; that is to say, the servants of God, being clothed with the substance of eternity, which is that of the Angels, shall remaine alwayes united to God; and the Prophane, and those that violate the

lawes of God, be buried in flames, where suffer perpetually without consuming; because partake of the nature of this fire, which is of such a sublime quality, as shall make them live in paines without being subject to corruption. The Philosophers acknowledge the difference betweene hidden fire, and fire discovered to our eyes: so the fire ordained for the use of man, is other then that which serves for the justice of God: whether it formes the lightnings which heaven darts upon the earth, or disgorgeth it selfe from the deepe Cavernes of mountaines; it consumes not that it burnes, it repaires rather that it destroyes, so that the mountaines maintaine themselves in their order, and man is stricke with the lightening without offending his body, or being reduced to ashes by the fire wherewith hee hath been touched.

This miracle is a prooffe of the nature of these eternall flames, and an example of the vertue they have by the decree of the judgement of God, to preserve punishments, wherewith his justice will punish the wicked; the mountaines burne, and remaine intire: why should it not so come to passe with men found hainous offenders before God, and enemies of their Creator?

CHAP XLIX.

THese things while wee declare to you under the notion of truth, in us alone you hold for presumptuous assertions, when the self same uttered by your Philolophers, you esteem admirable lights of mind, and sublime sciences. They are wise, we simple: they deserve to be honoured, wee to bee laughed at: yea, I dare say, more severely punished. But suppose the doctrine wee preach false, admit it consists in vain opinions; if vain, they are necessary for the salvation of mens souls. If follies, wonderfull profitable; in regard they who beleieve them, are thereby excited to live well, for fear of eternall punishment if they doe not; and againe if they doe, in hope of eternall felicity. Therefore it behooves us not to call these things false and impertinent, which so much import us, to find true; neither condemne that which produceth nothing but good: which granted, the opinions you have for persecuting our doctrine, rather then the doctrine wee professe, should passe for imaginations conceived without ground.

Again, this doctrine of ours being so profitable to men, deserves not to bee held impertinent: if, notwithstanding, you will have it to bee false, and ridiculous, you must yet acknowledge its innocency;

and consequently, that it deserves not to draw punishments upon the Christians. Know we not, that when other men have given way to vain, and fabulous opinions, they have not been reproved, your Lawes have not been armed with so much severity, as to punish them, they having told freely their thoughts without being treated as Criminalls. The worst a man can doe to those, who after their example, publish their follies, is, to laugh at them; Wee finde not that ever they persecuted them with sword, and fire, that they have been exposed, for that only, to the infamy of gibbets, and rage of wild beasts. This crueltie is not exercised, but against Christians; and it is a strange thing, that not onely this people blind in their passions, take delight to see us suffer; but some also among you, cause our blood inhumanely to be shed, to gain the favour of the vulgar, and by this means seek glory in their injustice: as if, all you can doe to us, dependeth not of our good will. In effect, I am a Christian, if I will be one, and therefore you cannot condemne mee, if I will not have you condemne mee. Now seeing you cannot use the power you have on mee, unless I will, it follows, that it is of my will, you have this power, and not of the authoritie of your Magistracie. Therefore in vaine doe this people rejoyce at our torments; our punishments that make them rejoyce, make us rejoyce also, because wee had rather die, then lose the grace of God. Contrarily, they that hate us, should be afflicted, and not rejoyce at our evils, because they make us obtain what we desire.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

T Herefore say you to us , what reason have you to complaine of the evils wee cause you to suffer , seeing you will needs suffer them ? are not you oblieged rather to love those that make you endure the punishments you desire ? it is true, wee are resolved to endure them ; but the reason is, because , without doing worse , wee know not how to avoid them : even as no body exposeth himselfe to the fury of war, by his good will, because, he cannot come neare it, without being afraid, and hazarding his life, and yet they , that find themselves engaged there , fight with all their might , and whatsoever aversion they had before , they rejoyce when they get the victory , because they acquite glory , and enrich themselves with the spoiles of their enemies. We enter into a combate, when we appeare before your Tribunalls, and there it is, wee fight for the truth , in perill of our lives ; our victory is , to make this truth raigne, for which wee contend, and the fruit wee have of it , is the glory of pleasing God , and the precious booty of eternall life : in the meane time we perish , but it is after we have beene conquerors of error ; so wee are conquerors when wee perish , and, at the same instant we perish , wee are freed out of your hands , and receive our liberty. Give us if you will , names taken from the instruments

ments, of our punishments, to wit, from the posts where you tie us, and from the bawins you kindle about us, when you burne our bodies, and reduce them to ashes; this is the ornament of our victory; this our roabe of State; this pittifull condition wherein your cruelty puts us, is our triumphant chariot. You must not wonder then, if we do not please them, that overcome us, our constancy makes us passe with them, for mad and desperate, and yet with you, these actions of rage and despaire are as standards, under which vertue seekes glory, and marcheth to the conquest of reputation. *Scevola*, of his owne motion, left his hand in the flames: O greatnesse of courage! *Empedecoles* precipitated himselfe into the burning of Mount *Aetna*: O strength of mind! the foundresse of Carthage cast her selte into the fire, to avoid a second marriage: O commendation of chastitie! *Regulus*, not willing his life should cost his countrey the setting free so many of its enemies, suffered in every part of his body: O generous man, and victorious in his captivity! *Anaxarchus*, so long as they pounded his body, as barley beat in a morrer, beat, beat, saith he, the bladder of *Anaxarchus*, it is not *Anaxarchus* you outrage: O generositie of a Philosopher, that in so miserable an end ceased not to laugh! I speake not of them, that kill themselves with their owne hands, or, have taken an easier death, to merit a vaine prayse withall. You approve also of contentions in torments, and honour is the prise you give them that suffer the m. A Courtesan of *Athens*, after she had wearied her executioners,

ners, and bit her tongue between her teeth, in casting it into the Tyrants face who made her suffer, threw to him the instrument of her speech, that if shee were overcome by the force of tortures shee could not, if shee would, discover them, who were of the conspiracy. *Dionysius* enquiring of *Zeno Eleates*, what good, Philosophy brought to men; and the Philosopher having answered him that it taught them to contemne death, hee signed his answer with his blood, unto the last groanes of his life, by the inhumanity of this Tyrant who made him cruelly to die by whipping. The rods which tryed the patience of the *Lacedemonians*, and made them feeble the sharpest stroakes thereof in the sight of their nearest kindred, who, in the meane time, exhorted them to endure it constantly, gave them so much the more honour, as they lost or had their blood spilt more in abundance; O lawfull glory! because it is of the world; for it is the neglect of death, all that the cruelty of men hath insupportable, is not imputed to an enraged obstinacy, and a desperate resolution; it is permitted to whosoever desires, to suffer for his Countrey, Kingdome, Friend, that which is not permitted to suffer for Gods cause; it is strange, you abhorre our constancy, and yet you make Statues for all these people, you set up their Statues with rare inscriptions; engrave Elogies in stone, and marble for them, that they may last to Eternity, and, by your publicke monuments, strive, to the utmost of your power, to give, in some kinde, a resurrection to the dead; and, contrarily, you

A a

hold

hold him for a mad man, that endures torments for the name of God, hopes from him, for a true resurrection. Continue, O magistrates, so full of integrity, juster in the opinion of this kind of people, if you sacrifice the Christians to fury, torment us, apply your tortures to us, judge us, and, in the end, exterminate us; your injustice is the prooffe of our innocence; therefore, God will have us endure, that our sufferings may make our purity shine the clearer. And indeed, a few daies since, you condemned a Christian maide to bee rather prostituted to an infamous corrupter of her chastity, then to bee exposed to the rage of a Lyon; you acknowledge there is no punishment, nor kind of death which is so intolerable to Christians, as the losse of their chastity: but, doe what you please, all inventions the most exquisite cruelty can advise you unto, are to no purpose, so far are they from profiting you, that contrarily they draw all the world to our Religion. The oftner you make a harvest of the Christians, the oftner their number encreaseth: their blood is a seed which dies not on the earth, but puts forth prosperously. Many, among you, have laboured, to perswade men to suffer constantly paine, & death, (as Cicero in his *Tusculans*, Seneca in his Treatise against casuall things, Diogenes, Pyrrhon, & Callinicus,) but Christians have better taught constancy, by the examples they have given, in supporting patiently so many evils, then all the Philosophers, with al their discourses. This same obstinacy, you reproach us with, is an excellent mistressse of truth, which we believe: for, who is it not, that

that striveth with contemplation, to seeke what it is? who after made his search, comes not on our side? who, having embraced the faith of Jesus Christ, desires not to suffer for him, that by his sufferings he may get the infinite treasures of the grace of God, and that, in the price of his blood, they may obtaine the pardon of their faults; for the remission of all our sins is the assured recompense of our punishments. This is the reason, that when they read your sentences of death unto us wee render you thanks; because by a happy emulation that meets betweene the judgements of God, and the judgement of men, at the same instant when you condemne us heere below God pronounceth our absolution in Heaven.

FINIS.

1. The first of these is the
fact that the number of
cases of the disease has
increased in the last few
years.

2. The second is the fact
that the disease is now
found in many parts of
the world where it was
formerly unknown.

FINIS.



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ERRATA.

Page 1 line 7. read capitall.

p. 25. l. 3. r. Marcus Aurelius.

p. 60. l. 11. and 24. r. Lares.

p. 65. l. 11. r. actions.

p. ibid. l. 12. r. Buffoons.

p. 69 l. 24. r. Athenian Pallas.

p. 82. l. 1. r. we doe not.

Page 93 line 6. and 7. read *Demon*;

p. 96. l. 26. r. retained.

p. 100. l. 25. r. when we conjure.

p. 103. l. 30. r. what is it that Plato

p. 122. l. 14. and 22. r. *Genii*

p. 129. l. 5. r. professie not.

p. 146. l. 25. r. droughe .

